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MEMORIALS OF
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BY C. EVELEIGH WOODRUFF, M.A.
SIX-PREACHER OF CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL AND
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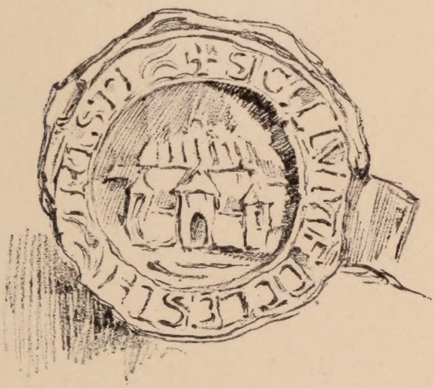

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PREFACE

ALTHOUGH much has been written about Canterbury Cathedral, the interest attaching to the metropolitical church is so great that the appearance of another book scarcely calls for justification.

The plan and scope of the present work will be indicated best by a few introductory words on the chief printed authorities. Apart from picture-books and guide-books, of which there are scores, good, bad, or indifferent, the bibliography of the Cathedral is not really extensive. Somner's *Antiquities of Canterbury*, first published in 1640, and re-edited and enlarged by Battely in 1703, is a vast storehouse of materials from which almost all subsequent writers have drawn; but the book is hard to come by, and does not yield up its stores readily to any but skilled workers. Gostling, whose *Walk in and about the City of Canterbury* was written in the second half of the eighteenth century, gives an excellent description of the Cathedral and its contents as they were in his days; but owing to the advance in the study of architecture, he cannot now be taken as a trustworthy guide.

Willis, on the other hand, in his *Architectural History of the Cathedral*, published in 1845, and in his *History of the Conventual Buildings of the Priory of Christ Church*, contributed to the *Journal* of the Kent Archæological Society in 1868, has said almost the last word on matters structural, and the present writers gratefully acknowledge their indebtedness to his masterly treatises, which, however, are somewhat too technical for the ordinary reader. Moreover, historical matter, except when it elucidates an architectural problem, is purposely excluded.

The Chronological History of Canterbury Cathedral, by George Smith, published in 1883, makes a praiseworthy attempt to combine the historical with the architectural, but is a somewhat dull book, inadequately illustrated and occasionally inaccurate. Stanley, in his *Historical Memorials of Canterbury*, selected a few of the most striking episodes, and described them with much grace and force; but his book is not a history of the Cathedral.

The aim of the authors of the present book is to give a trustworthy, readable, and compendious account of the Cathedral from the earliest times to the present day. To do this within the compass of a single octavo volume it has been necessary to confine the range of view strictly to the church and its custodians. Thus, since the book does not claim to be a history of the See of Canterbury, little is said about the Archbishops except when they came into contact with the *de facto* governing body—prior and convent before, and dean and chapter after, the Reformation. To write a history of the great Benedictine priory of Christ Church would require a separate volume; but its fortunes and internal economy are sketched in the following pages with some fulness of detail, and this we believe to be a distinctive feature of the present book. Throughout an honest attempt has been made to go to first-hand sources of information, and the recent rearrangement of the Cathedral archives has opened out some which have not hitherto been available. Full advantage has been taken of this opportunity, with the result that the authors have been able to incorporate in their book some fresh matter, and much more which, if not absolutely new, has hitherto been known only to a few.

For the privilege of making use of the Cathedral records, and for permission to photograph some of the seals and drawings in the library, the authors express their deep sense of gratitude to the Dean and Chapter.

Their thanks are also due to Dr. Fremantle, Dean of Ripon, for the loan of MS. notes made by him some years ago, when a Canon of Canterbury, with a view to publishing a book on the Cathedral; to Mr. Arthur Hussey for a like courtesy with regard to his notes on the Priors of Christ Church; to Mr. S. F. Parry, C.B., for leave (on behalf of the executors of his aunt, Miss Williams) to make use of the blocks prepared for that lady's *Notes on the Stained Glass of the Cathedral;* and to the Warden of St. Augustine's College for permission to make extracts from the *Reminiscences* of the late Prebendary Gilbert, preserved in the College library.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

THE ROMAN-SAXON CHURCH

Christianity in Britain before the Diocletian persecution : Canterbury the Roman *Durovernum* : A Christian Church there in the second half of the fourth century : Destruction of *Durovernum* by the Jutes : The Gregorian Mission : King Ethelbert's baptism : The Roman Church " recovered " and dedicated by Augustine : Ground plan : Cuthbert's baptistery : The Cathedral enlarged by Odo : Origin of the *Confessio* : The Church sacked by the Danes : Murder of Archbishop Alphege and massacre of the monks : The Church burnt 1067 : Representation of the pre-Norman Cathedral on the earliest seal of the Priory : The clerical staff of the Cathedral in Saxon times : Saxon archbishops buried in their Cathedral Church : pp. 1–19

APPENDIX

Eadmer's description of the Roman Saxon Church : Pre-Norman deans pp. 19–22

CHAPTER II

LANFRANC'S NORMAN CHURCH

The monastic buildings and Cathedral Church rebuilt : Christ Church, Canterbury, compared with St. Stephen's at Caen : Ground plan : The Angel steeple : John of Salisbury's verses on : The Western towers : Dedication : The Accord of Winchester : Lanfranc's reforms : The Archiepiscopal Palace rebuilt : Death of Archbishop Lanfranc : His benefactions to the Cathedral pp. 23–35

CHAPTER III

ANSELM'S CHOIR

Anselm's election and consecration : The *Pallium* : The choir lengthened : Funds raised : Prior Ernulf : Description of Ernulf's work : Death of Anselm : His shrine : The choir finished by Prior Conrad :

Dedicated by Archbishop William : Gervase's description of the choir : King Stephen crowned in Canterbury Cathedral by Archbishop Theobald : Financial depression of the Priory : Theobald's economic reforms : Carvings added to the capitals of the pillars in the crypt : Mural paintings : The Treasury built : Prior Wibert's additions to the monastic buildings : His hydraulic system for supplying the Priory with water : Canterbury a *studium generale* pp. 36–56

CHAPTER IV

ST. THOMAS OF CANTERBURY

Early training : Character and appearance : Election to the primacy : Quarrel with King : The murder : Gervase's description of the martyrdom transept : The King's penance : The translation of the Saint's relics : The shrine : Pilgrims : Miracles : Secret of his influence pp. 57–88

CHAPTER V

THE REBUILDING OF THE CHOIR AFTER THE GREAT FIRE, BY GUILLAUME DE SENS, AND WILLIAM THE ENGLISHMAN

Gervase's account of the fire : Guillaume de Sens begins the reconstruction of the choir : Progress made during the first three years : Accident to the architect : retirement of Guillaume, and appointment of William the Englishman : The Retro-Choir : Chapel of St. Thomas : Monks enter the new choir, 1180 : The work of the two Williams compared : The corona : Ground plans of the old and new choir pp. 89–102

CHAPTER VI

GROWTH OF THE POWER OF THE MONKS OF CHRIST CHURCH AND THEIR STRUGGLE WITH ARCHBISHOPS BALDWIN AND HUBERT WALTER

Claims put forward by the Prior and Chapter of Christ Church : Resistance of the monks of Rochester : Election of Archbishop Baldwin : His character : Quarrel with the monks concerning the Archbishop's proposed foundation of a collegiate Church at Hackington : The Prior appeals to Rome : King offers to arbitrate : Baldwin excommunicates the monks : Papal mandate for the destruction of the college : Prior Honorius dies in Italy : Death of King Henry II :

Roger Norreys intruded into the priorate by Archbishop Baldwin : King Richard I comes to Canterbury : Archbishop of Rouen to act as arbitrator : Baldwin leaves England for the Holy Land : Hubert Walter elected to the primacy : the Archbishop wishes to found a collegiate Church at Lambeth : Opposition of the monks : The work inhibited by the Pope : Bishop Stubbs's summary of the contest and his criticism of the action of the monks pp. 103–116

CHAPTER VII

FROM THE GREAT EXILE TO THE DEATH OF PRIOR HENRY OF EASTRY

Gervase's account of the death of Archbishop Hubert : Opening of his tomb in 1890 : Contents of the tomb : King John seizes the Chapel of the late Archbishop : Monks refuse to elect the King's nominee : Exile of the monks : Their return in 1213 : Offerings at the shrine of St. Thomas during the exile : Translation of the relics of St. Thomas, 1220 : New conventual seal : Landing of the Friars in England : Stained glass windows in St. Thomas's Chapel : The Frater House rebuilt : Cloisters remodelled : Quarrel between the monks and Archbishop Edmund : A charter tampered with : The Archbishop refuses to sanction the election of Roger de la Lee to the priorate : Death of Archbishop Edmund at Pontigny : Building work carried out by Priors Roger Lee, and Roger of St. Alphege : The Prior's Chapel : Election of Archbishop Boniface : He attempts to reform the discipline of the Priory : Resistance of the monks : Appeal to Rome : Prior Adam Chillenden chosen primate : His election opposed by Prince Edward : Set aside by the Pope in favour of Robert Kilwardby : Visitations of the Prior and Chapter *sede vacante* : Feud between the monks and citizens : Prior Thomas Ringmere : His abortive attempts to introduce reforms : Charges made against him by the monks : Resignation of the Prior : Henry of Eastry elected prior : His capacity for business : His building operations : The Audit House : Choir-stalls : Doors and screens in the choir : The Chapter-House repaired : A reliquary for St. Thomas's head : New spire on the N.W. tower : Brewery : Cheker : Almonry Chapel : *Tabula* of the high altar : Notes from Eastry's correspondence : Archbishop Winchelsey's shrine : Prior Eastry's relations with Archbishop Reynolds : Reynolds' tomb : His benefactions to the Church : Visits of royal persons : Marriage of King Edward I to Margaret of France : King Edward II comes to Canterbury : Queen Isabella leaves her hounds in the charge of the Prior : Death of Prior Eastry pp. 117–144

CHAPTER VIII

FROM THE DEATH OF PRIOR HENRY OF EASTRY TO THE ELECTION OF PRIOR THOMAS OF CHILLENDEN

Prior Richard Oxenden : Visit of King Edward III : Gifts from the Prior and Convent : A new window erected in St. Anselm's Chapel : Prior Robert Hathbrand : The Black Death : A new Frater House built in the Infirmary : The Chancel of the Infirmary Chapel remodelled : The monastic kitchen rebuilt : The "Black Prince's" Chantry : Work done to the Chapel of St. Mary in the Crypt : Funds raised for rebuilding the Nave : Funeral of the "Black Prince" : His tomb : Achievements : Bequests to the Church : The Norman Nave pulled down by Archbishop Simon of Sudbury : Murder of the Archbishop : His tomb : The rebuilding of the Nave continued by Prior Finch : The New Guest Chambers called "Paradise" and "Heaven" : Fall of the Campanile : Death of Prior Finch : His character pp. 145–166

CHAPTER IX

THE PRIORATE OF THOMAS CHILLENDEN, 1391–1411

Building operations : The Nave : Comparison between the Naves of Canterbury and Winchester : Internal arrangements of the Nave : New Altar-piece : The Choir whitewashed : Repavement of the North Aisle of the Choir and South-East transept : New lodgings for the Sub-Sacrists : Reconstruction of the Chapter House : the Great Dormitory new roofed : Upper story erected over the Water-tower : New Cloisters : Chamber over the Green Court Gate : The Pentise : Rebuilding of the city wall between North Gate and Queningate : Canterbury College in Oxford, rebuilt : And the Cheker of the Hope in Mercury Lane : Ornaments and vestments acquired during Chillenden's priorate : Bishop Buckingham's Chantry : Lady Mohun's Chantry : Chillenden's embassage to Pisa : His death : Tomb pp. 167–186

CHAPTER X

FROM THE DEATH OF THOMAS CHILLENDEN TO THE SUPPRESSION OF THE PRIORY

Prior John Wodensburgh : His economic reforms : The Great Cloister finished : Burial of King Henry IV : His tomb : Opening of the tomb in 1832 : Death of Archbishop Arundel : His Chantry : King Henry V comes to Canterbury : Archbishop Chicheley : His tomb : Lollardy repressed : Prior William Molash : Rebuilding of the South-West tower : The great central tower commenced, 1433 : Richard Beek, Master Mason : Cardinal Beaufort admitted into confraternity : Tomb of Lady Holland and her two husbands in St. Michael's Chapel : Chamber over the Chapel : The Brenchley Chantry : New Lady Chapel erected by Prior Goldston I : Jack Cade's rebellion : King Henry VI at Canterbury : Archbishop Bourchier orders a thanksgiving service in the Cathedral for the capture of Henry VI : King Edward IV presents the great window of the North-West transept : Prior William Sellinge : His building operations : City wall between Burgate and Queningate : Great Central tower : John Wastell, Master Mason : New drainage system : The Christ Church Gate erected, 1517 : Prior Thomas Goldston II : His gifts to the Church : The scrutiny of the shrine of St. Dunstan : Archbishop Warham's Chantry : Prior Thomas Goldwell : The affair of Elizabeth Barton : Dr. Layton comes to Canterbury : Fire at the Prior's lodgings : Destruction of the shrine of St. Thomas, 1538 : Surrender of the Priory : Goldwell hopes to be the first Dean : On the appointment of Nicholas Wotton, Goldwell retires with a pension pp. 187–221

CHAPTER XI

THE INTERIOR LIFE OF THE MONASTERY

The Benedictine system : Lanfranc's reforms : The Priors of Christ Church : Election : Jurisdiction *sede vacante* : Reluctance to attend general Chapters of their order : Privileges : Lodgings : Servants : The Precentor : The Sacrist : Revenue : The Cellarer : His lodgings : Guest-Hall : " Meister Omers " : Gifts to officials at Easter and Christmas : The Chamberlain : His duties : The Dormitory : *Deportum* : The Penitentiary : Discipline : The *Scrutatores* : The Treasurers : Loans from the Archbishop : Fluctuations of income : Offerings to the shrine of St. Thomas : The Almoner : The Maundy : Almoner's School : Novices : The Archbishop's School : Canterbury College in Oxford : The Infirmarer : Infirmary buildings : *Stationarii* : Fees to Surgeons : Dead monks placed on a stone in the Infirmary Chapel : Rules for the Infirmary : The monastic kitchen : Servants and their wages : Hours of Divine Service, and of meals : Study : *Carrels* in the Cloister : Recreations : Offerings of the brethren at Easter : Fees paid for sermons : A list of the Priors of Christ Church pp. 222–271

CHAPTER XII

THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH ON THE EVE OF THE REFORMATION

The visit of Erasmus in 1513 : Description of the Nave : The Martyrdom : The Crypt : Reliquary Cupboard : The High Altar : Ornaments and vestments : St. Thomas's Chapel : The *Corona* : Arrangement of the Choir fittings : Arras hangings : The Lenten Veil : The High Altar : Patriarchal Chair : Relics near the Side Altars : The Measure of Our Lady : Relics, and Altars pp. 272–286

CHAPTER XIII

FROM THE NEW FOUNDATION TO THE PRIMACY OF LAUD

The Incorporation Charter : Constitution of the Collegiate Church : Cranmer's modified scheme : His provision for the sons of poor men in the Cathedral School : Outline of the history of the King's School : Dean Wotton : The Prebendaries conspire against Cranmer : Richard Thornden, Bishop of Dover : Church goods alienated: A turbulent Canon : Stained glass windows destroyed : Fire at the Palace : Destruction of the monastic buildings : The Chapter House fitted up for sermons : The Marian reaction : Ornaments replaced : Married Prebendaries deprived of their stalls : Death of Queen Mary and of Cardinal Pole : Five Prebendaries refuse to take the Oath of Supremacy and are deprived : The Archiepiscopal Palace rebuilt by Parker : Ritual in the days of Queen Elizabeth : Visit of the Queen to Canterbury : Chapter orders relating to sermons : Want of proper supervision of the fabric : The Walloon and French Protestant congregation in the Crypt : Names of the first members of the New Foundation pp. 287–314

CHAPTER XIV

FROM LAUD TO THE RESTORATION

Character of Archbishop Laud : Preparations made by the Dean and Chapter for the Archbishop's first visitation : New Altar and ornaments : Growth of Puritanism in Kent : The Archbishop's visitation articles : The Revised Statutes : Bowing towards the Altar : A new font presented by Dr. Warner : The pre-Reformation Fonts : Laud's attempt to enforce conformity upon the French congregation : Fall of a pinnacle of the Great Central tower : Sermons to be preached in the Choir instead of in the Sermon-

House : Violent protest by the Puritans : Outbreak of the Civil War : The Cathedral looted by Colonel Sandys' troopers : Dean Bargrave imprisoned in the Fleet : Church plate sold by the Dean and Chapter : The Parliament issue an order for the protection of the Cathedral : Destruction of stained glass windows by Richard Culmer and others : The Cathedral estates sequestrated : Thomas Monins appointed Receiver-General : Survey made in 1650 : Buildings scheduled for destruction : Church plate lent to the Independents : The Cathedral services reduced to a single sermon on Sundays pp. 315–333

57

CHAPTER XV

FROM THE RESTORATION TO THE CLOSE OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

King Charles II at Canterbury : Petitions to the Dean and Chapter from officials of the Church : John Peirce, Six-Preacher, asks for his fee for a sermon preached before the rebellion : The Dean and Chapter recount their losses : The Christ Church Gates restored : Refitting of the Choir : New Altar Screen : Communion Plate : Money spent on repair between 1660–1670 : Money raised for the redemption of captives : The Choir wainscoted : Picture of King Charles I : A new Altar-cloth presented by Queen Mary : Hours of Divine Service : John Boy's description of the Cathedral in 1675 : Removal of the spire from the Arundel steeple in 1704 : The Choir re-pewed : Archbishop Tenison's archiepiscopal throne : New Audit-house : New Altar-piece erected by James Burrough in 1733 : Work done to the Corona in 1748 : Rebuilding of the gable of the South-East transept : Dean Horne's destructive "restorations" : The Nave repaved : Correspondence between Archbishop Herring and the Dean and Chapter relative to the relics of St. Anselm pp. 334–353

CHAPTER XVI

THE CATHEDRAL IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Church patronage : Pluralities and nepotism : Gilbert's reminiscences of the Canons of Canterbury : Dean Percy's "restorations" : New Altar-screen : Rebuilding of the Arundel steeple : Repair of the Cloister : Removal of the Cemetery Gate : A new Archiepiscopal throne erected from the designs of George Austin : Enthronement of Archbishop Sumner : The Ecclesiastical Commission : Canonries reduced from twelve to six : Annual income of the Dean and Chapter : Houses of suppressed Canonries pulled down : Dean Alford's reforms : Grant by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners to the fabric fund : The roof of the Choir, and the Oxford steeple repaired : Statuary placed in the niches of the South porch : Cathedral gasworks : New buildings erected for the King's School : The wooden staircase leading to the South-East transept replaced by a stone one : The Choir reseated in 1879 : The fire of 1872 : The Dean and Chapter decline the offer of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners to administer their estates : Work done to the fabric by Dean Farrar : By Dean Wace : Repair of the Central tower : The Archiepiscopal Palace rebuilt by Archbishop Temple : Gifts of ornaments, and vestments : Pulpit erected in the Nave from the designs of Mr. Bodley : Revival of Church life in the nineteenth century pp. 354–376

CHAPTER XVII
THE LIBRARY

Founded by Archbishop Theodore : Its extent in Anglo-Saxon times : Reconstituted by Lanfranc : His rules for monastic reading : Fragment of a twelfth-century catalogue of the books in the library : The catalogue compiled in the days of Prior Henry of Eastry : Evidence that Christ Church possessed a *Bibliotheca* at an early date : Where situated : Inspection of the books *temp* Prior Oxenden : A new library built by Archbishop Chicheley : Decorated by Prior Sellinge : Review of the books by William Ingram in 1508 : Reconstruction of the arrangement of the mediæval library : Estates given for the upkeep of the library : The *Scriptorium* : *Carrels* : Celebrated books produced at Canterbury : Early employment of professional scribes, and illuminators : Cost of production : Damage done to the books by a fire on the eve of the dissolution of the Priory : Alienation of volumes by Archbishops Parker and Whitgift, and by Dean Nevill : Books acquired in 1547 : Efforts made in 1628 to replenish the shelves : Archbishop Abbot's benefaction : The books sent to London by the Trustees of the lands of Deans and Chapters : Returned to Canterbury at the Restoration of the Monarchy : Benefactions by Archbishop Juxon and Bishop Warner : A new library built on the site of the Priors' Chapel : Purchase of books and Somner's MSS. : Sancroft's gift of duplicates in the Lambeth Library : Additions made in the eighteenth century : The Combe Collection of early printed Bibles : A new library built in 1867 : The Howley-Harrison bequest : The Muniments : Not part of the library : Precautions taken by Dean Wotton for their preservation : Discovery of hidden MSS. : A Register book in private hands : Recovery of the Muniments at the time of the Restoration : Damage done by a fire in the Audit-house, 1670 : The Great Catalogue compiled by Cyprian Bunce in 1806 : Dr. J. Brigstock Sheppard's Report on the records to the Historical

MSS. Commission : Rearrangement of the Collection in recent years : A description of the various classes of documents : The Monastic Registers : Registers of the Dean and Chapter : A list of the books which were once part of the Conventual Library and are still preserved in the library of the Dean and Chapter pp. 377-404

CHAPTER XVIII

THE STAINED GLASS WINDOWS AND MURAL PAINTINGS

The Clerestory windows : The Theological windows in the Choir : The Triforium windows : Rose-window in the South-East transept : Windows of the Trinity (St. Thomas's) Chapel : Modern windows : Wall paintings : St. Christopher in the *Corona* : St. Eustace in the South Choir-aisle : St. Paul at Melita in St. Anselm's Chapel : Frescoes in St. Gabriel's Chapel in the Crypt : Scott Robertson's description of the subjects pp. 405-444

CHAPTER XIX

THE CHOIR AND THE ORGAN

Provision made for the Choir by the Statutes of Henry VIII : Paid singers in pre-Reformation days : Men's voices continued to be used for the Choir offices after the dissolution of the Priory : Plain-song gradually superseded by harmonised compositions : Instrumentalists introduced to support the treble part : The Sackbutters and Corneteers : The organ : Its position in monastic days : In the roof-loft at the time of the dissolution : Rebuilt in 1564 in the North Choir-aisle : William Selby the first organist of the New Foundation : The statutable stipends of Minor Canons, Lay Clerks, and Chorister Boys : Poverty of Lay Clerks in the seventeenth century : Their petition to Archbishop Laud : Attendance at three daily services compulsory in 1583 : Sufferings of the Lay Clerks at the time of the Great Rebellion : The organ in the Chapter House sold by the Sequestrators : Petition of Thomas Jones, Lay Clerk at the time of the Restoration : Improvement of the stipends of the Choirmen : A new organ built by Lancelot Pease of Cambridge in 1662 : By Bernard Smith in 1683 : The organ rebuilt by Richard Bridge in 1752 : Rebuilt and removed to the Rood-loft by Maurice Greene in 1784 : Removed to the gallery of the South Triforium in 1827 by Longhurst, senior : A new instrument built by Henry Willis in 1886 : General history of the Choir : Litany chanted by Lay Clerks until 1704 : The substitutes abolished in 1724 : "Precum days," meaning of : The Chorister boys : Liberal provision for by the Statutes : Liable to be impressed for service in the Royal Chapels : A Grammar Master appointed in 1845 : The Precentor : His statutable duties : The Canterbury repertory of anthems and services an extensive one : List of the organists : Specifications of the organs built by Lancelot Pease, Bernard Smith, Richard Bridge, Maurice Greene, and Henry Willis pp. 445–470

CHAPTER XX

THE BELLS

Bells acquired by Priors Ernulf, Conrad, Wibert Eastry, Hathbrand, Chillenden : Archbishop Arundel presents the ring called by his name : Bells sold at the time of the suppression of the Priory : "Bell Harry" : Antiquity of the bell : Perhaps named after Prior Henry of Eastry : The bells in the Oxford steeple : The Clock : "Bell Dunstan" : The Arundel ring rehung by Thomas Crust in 1634 : Taken down and recast by Samuel Knight in 1726, and rehung in the Oxford steeple : Dimensions of the present ring of ten and the inscriptions on the bells : Rehung in 1897 : The clock chimes pp. 471–476

APPENDIX

A list of the Deans and Canons, supplementary to that printed in Le Neve's "Fasti Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ" pp. 476–478

Index pp. 479–490

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

PAGE
The Cathedral at Twilight *Frontispiece*
St. Augustine's Chair 1
Pillars from the Saxon Church of Reculver 7
Conjectural Plan of the Roman-Saxon Church *Facing p.* 10
Church and Baptistery of S. Appollinare at Ravenna 12
The Earliest Seal of the Prior and Convent 16
Capital in the Crypt 23
Passage from the Cloister to the Infirmary 27
Plan of Lanfranc's Church (1070–1077) *Facing p.* 30
The North-West Tower ; and ruins of the Palace in 1816 ,, 32
Signatures to the Accord of Winchester, 1072 ,, 33
Capital in the Crypt 36
Plan of St. Anselm's Church before the Fire of 1174 *Facing p.* 40
Ernulf's Crypt ,, 41
Ernulf's Crypt (South Aisle) 43
Seals of the Prior and Convent of Christ Church *Facing p.* 45
The Treasury ,, 50
The Norman drawing of the Cathedral and Conventual Buildings, *c.* 1164 *Facing p.* 52
The Green-Court Gateway 53
Substructure of Water Tower *Facing p.* 54
Transept Tower 56
Capital in the Crypt 57
The Martyrdom of St. Thomas *Facing p.* 68
The Tomb of St. Thomas of Canterbury 71
King Henry II receiving his Discipline at the Hands of the Monks *Facing p.* 74
Site of the Martyrdom of St. Thomas of Canterbury 84
Capital of Martyrdom Door 88
Capital in the Crypt 89
Substructure of Trinity Chapel (St. Thomas's) 95
Ground Plan *Facing p.* 101
Capital in the Crypt 103
Capital in the Crypt 116
Third Seal of the Prior and Convent, *c.* 1221 *Facing p.* 123
Seal of the Dean and Chapter, 1540 ,, 123
The Cloister Doorway, leading to the Martyrdom Transept 125

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

PAGE
Western doorway of the Prior's Chapel, *c.* 1254 129
Chapter-House Door *Facing p.* 138
The Round Water-Tower and the Cheker Building ,, 139
Checker Tower 139
Seal of Archdeacon Simon Langton, 1245 *Facing p.* 144
Seal of Prior Henry of Eastry ,, 144
Boss in " Black Prince's " Chantry Chapel 145
The Table-Hall of the Infirmary, *c.* 1342 149
Ruins of the Chancel of the Infirmary Chapel 153
North Window of the Infirmary Chapel 155
Boss of Joan Plantagenet ? 157
The Black Prince's Tomb *Facing p.* 160
Capital in the Crypt 166
The Nave 168
The Water-Tower *Facing p.* 176
Doorway from the Cloister to the Infirmary 177
The Pentise 179
Prior's Doorway in Dark Entry 183
Waterspout of the South Porch 187
The Cloister (North Side) 189
Plan of the Floor of the Nave, *c.* 1786 *Facing p.* 195
The Central Tower from the Cloister ,, 208
The Michaelmas Fair in the Precincts ,, 209
Christ Church Gate ,, 213
Ruins of the Frater-House 231
The Cellarer's Door in the Cloister, and the Aperture in which the Turn-table was placed 235
Ruins of Cellarer's Hall 239
Ruins of the Hall of the Infirmary 253
Substructure of the Cellarer's Gate House 263
Altar of the Sword Point 273
Interior of the Christ Church Gate 289
The Chained Bible 294
The Deanery *Facing p.* 300
The French Church in the " Black Prince's " Chantry Chapel 309
The Font, 1639 *Facing p.* 320
The Christ Church Gate with the arms of Archbishop Juxon, 1661 339
Panelling in the Choir *Facing p.* 342
The Choir, 1816 ,, 348
The Christ Church Gate after the removal of the Turrets 351
The Choir *Facing p.* 354
The Nave 357
The Cathedral from the " Oaks " *Facing p.* 363
The Archbishop's Throne ,, 363
The " Old Palace " 372
Archbishop Juxon's Gates (Inner Face) 373

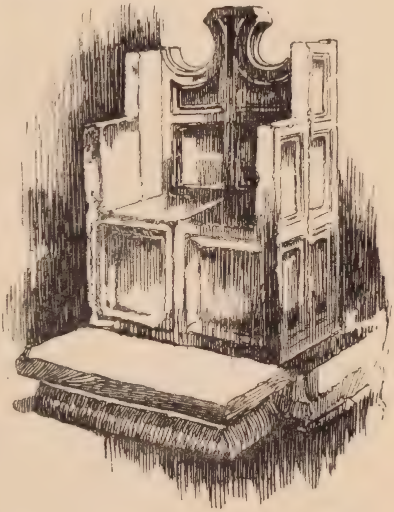
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

	PAGE
The Cathedral from the Stour Valley	*Facing p.* 384
Methusaleh from a Window in the Clerestory	407
Enoch from a Window in the Clerestory	411
The Rich Men of this World. Window II 20	413
The Parable of the Sower. Window II 21	414
The Destruction of Sodom. Window II 20	415
The Three Wise Men Riding. Window II 2	416
Plan of Window II	418
Plan of Window III	419
1. The Earth falls on William of Gloucester. Window I 13, Trinity Chapel, South Side	426
2. Two Men bring News that he is Dead	427
3. A Dismal Groan is heard	428
4. Holy and Humble Men of Heart come with Spades and Country Tools	429
5. William is brought out	430
A Lady offering a coil at St. Thomas's Altar. Window VI 21 (South Side of Trinity Chapel)	431
Nave of St. Gabriel's Chapel	441
The Choir School (formerly the Monastic Brewery)	459

CHAPTER I

THE ROMAN-SAXON CHURCH

The Cathedral and Metropolitical Church of Christ in Canterbury, though not the largest English cathedral—York, Lincoln, Winchester, and Ely all exceed Canterbury in mere area, and the two first named perhaps in grandeur of design as well—appeals to the affections and historical instincts of the English people with peculiar directness and force. It surpasses even Westminster Abbey in the closeness of its connexion with the ecclesiastical history of the English race. "What the Abbey is for the history of the English nation," said Dean Farrar, "that the Cathedral is for the history of the English Church." It occupies a site perhaps hallowed for Christian worship more than fifteen hundred years ago, certainly for upwards of thirteen centuries the centre of the ecclesiastical system and a focus for the religious aspirations and inspirations of Englishmen. Nor is the Mother-Church of Canterbury less interesting when viewed as an architectural document, since it would be difficult



St. Augustine's Chair

to name any building which can afford an equally complete illustration of the evolution and development of Gothic architecture in this country. Although the statement will require some explanation, it is true to say that during the last fifteen hundred years the site of the present fabric has been occupied by two, and by only two, churches, viz. the Roman-Saxon church, built probably in the fourth century when Britain was still a part of the Western Empire, and restored by St. Augustine to Christian uses at the beginning of the seventh century; and the Norman church, erected by Archbishop Lanfranc in the days of William the Conqueror. With the latter church the present fabric may claim continuity, since there has never been a complete and simultaneous rebuilding of all its component parts, and considerable portions of Lanfranc's work still remain in its walls.

The Roman-Saxon church first claims our attention. It will not be necessary for our present purpose to retell the story of the Gregorian Mission. Even Somner in his "Antiquities of Canterbury"—published as long ago as 1640—excused himself for not entering into details concerning the coming of Augustine and his fellow monks on the ground that the story was already somewhat "trite and vulgar." Whatever truth there may have been in that statement two hundred and seventy years ago, there can be little doubt that the pioneer work of the Apostle of the English has been made sufficiently familiar to most people, especially in the picturesque pages of Stanley's "Memorials of Canterbury." For the moment, at any rate, we are concerned only with Bede's remarkable statement that when in the year 602—five years after the Italian missionaries landed in Thanet—Augustine felt that the time had come for him to set up his *cathedra* in the Kentish kingdom, it was not necessary for him to build a new church, but merely to re-hallow for Christian worship a church which already existed.

> When [writes the Venerable Bede] an episcopal see had been given to Augustine in the King's own city, he regained possession (*recuperavit*), with the King's support, of a church there, which he was informed had been built in the city long before by Roman believers. This he consecrated in the name of the Holy Saviour Jesus Christ our Lord and God, and fixed there a home for himself and all his successors.[1]

That the Gospel of Christ followed in the wake of the Roman legions, and even penetrated to districts not subjected to their arms, there can be little doubt. But while there may have been churches in Britain even in the second century of the Christian era, it is unlikely that any survived the *débâcle* brought about by the persecution of the Emperor Diocletian.

With the abdication of Diocletian, however, in the year 305 the danger passed away, and the Christians were again able to meet for public worship and to rebuild their ruined sanctuaries.

> When the storm of persecution had ceased [says Bede], the faithful Christians, who during the time of danger had hidden themselves in woods and deserts and secret caves, appearing again in public, rebuilt the churches which had been levelled to the ground; founded, erected, and finished the temples of the holy martyrs; and, as it were, displayed their conquering ensigns in all places, celebrated festivals, and performed sacred rites with clean hearts.[2]

Nowhere in Britain would the revival have been likely to find earlier expression than in that south-eastern corner of the island which was occupied by the *Cantii*. Kent, owing to the short sea passage across the Strait of Dover, has always been very favourably placed for receiving at an early date the civilisation of Europe. Pioneers have ever come this way, from the day when Cæsar's galleys struck Deal beach to that on which M. Blériot's monoplane swooped down on Dover Cliffs. And it is reasonable to assume that the earliest Christian missionaries (who-ever they may have been) followed the line of least resistance and landed on the Kentish coast. If they did so, it is practically certain that they would have chosen for their landing-place one of the three great ports which guarded the coast of Kent. But whether Richborough (*Rutupiæ*), Dover (*Dubris*), or Lymne (*Portus Lemanis*) was the place of their disembarkation, the military road from either of these three stations would have led them direct to the Roman town *Durovernum*, which commanded the ford over the river Stour.

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[1] "The Mission of Augustine," A. J. Mason, Cambridge, 1897. Dr. Mason also prints the original Latin from Bede's *Hist. Eccl.*, I. xxviii.

[2] Bede, *Hist. Eccl.*, lib. I. c. 8.

Durovernum is mentioned in the Itinerary of Antoninus as occupying the last stage on the Roman road from *Londinium* towards each of the three above-named ports, and its site can with certainty be identified as that of the later city of Canterbury. The area of the Roman town was, however, less than that of the later city, and did not extend beyond the east bank of the river. Its southern and eastern boundaries seem to have been those marked out by the mediæval walls; but whereas the latter are continued northwards in a semicircle until they meet the river near Abbot's Mill, the Roman wall seems to have formed a right-angle near the bastion tower in the garden of the first prebendary (now the residence of Canon Danks), and to have passed through what is now the precincts very near to the south side of the present church.

From a military point of view *Durovernum* was not a place of great importance, for the situation was low, and the town did not command the lowest ford on the river; but its position at the junction of the three great military roads from the ports marked it out as a convenient trading-centre, and its inhabitants no doubt at a very early date enjoyed considerable material prosperity and a well-ordered social life. The conditions were thus peculiarly favourable for the reception of Christianity, and it is probable that in *Durovernum* there was an organised Christian community, and possibly a Christian church, before the close of the third century; but it is in the highest degree unlikely that any such church could have survived the Diocletian persecution. When, then, was the Roman church which St. Augustine recovered and made his cathedral erected? Now Eadmer, a Christ Church monk who lived in the twelfth century, has preserved for us a description of the Roman-Saxon church, and it is remarkable that he compares some of its arrangements with those of the great basilican church of St. Peter at Rome. He had been to Rome in the company of Archbishop Anselm, and was therefore competent to institute a comparison between the two buildings. There were, of course, very considerable divergences in the plan of the two churches, to which reference will be made later, and enormous disparity in their area, but the resemblance was sufficient to cause Eadmer to say that the Roman-Saxon church of Augustine and his successors "was planned to a certain extent in imitation of that church of the blessed Peter, the prince of the Apostles."[1]

But the great basilica on the Vatican was not completed until about A.D. 330; it is therefore evident that the Roman church in *Durovernum* could scarcely have been built prior to the commencement of the second half of the fourth century.

If this be accepted, its existence as a Christian church could not have been of long duration, for early in the succeeding century, on the withdrawal of the Roman legions, the south-eastern corner of the island was overrun by devastating hordes of pagan Jutes, before whose onslaught the Christian population ran "as men fly from fire." *Durovernum*, as occupying a central position in East Kent, was much too important a place to escape the ravages of the invaders, by whom, no doubt, the town was plundered and burnt. For a considerable period it would seem that the site lay desolate without inhabitant, for when the conquerors—discovering at length its geographical and strategic advantages—again inhabited it, the streets of the Saxon town did not in all cases follow the line of their Roman predecessors.[1] Moreover, the very name of the place appears to have been forgotten, so that when the curtain is again raised *Durovernum* has become *Cant-wara-byrig*—the capital or fortress of the men of Kent. The Saxon town was still confined to the eastern bank of the river, but its area had been extended towards the north by continuing the wall from the neighbourhood of the Burgate to the Northgate so as to enclose what is now the northern portion of the precincts of the church. This, of course, brought the Roman church within the walls, and it was here that the Kentish king had his palace. It is probable that it was the attraction offered by the solidly built walls of the church and its adjacent buildings—which, unlike the more flimsily constructed private houses, had escaped destruction by fire—which led Ethelbert to select this quarter of the town for his residence.

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[1] *Opuscula Eadmeri Cantoris*, Parker MSS., Corpus Christi Coll., Cambs.; and quoted by Willis in his "Architectural History of Canterbury Cathedral," London, 1845.

He had been king for nearly forty years when the Italian Mission landed in Thanet, and although towards the west expansion had been checked by the growing power of Wessex, he ruled over a well-consolidated kingdom and exercised a suzerainty over the whole district between the Thames and the Humber. For many years his throne had been shared by Queen Bertha, the daughter of the Christian King of Paris, whose chaplain, Bishop Luithard, was permitted to celebrate the mysteries of the Christian faith in the little church of St. Martin outside the city walls. All these were favourable, predisposing circumstances which, although

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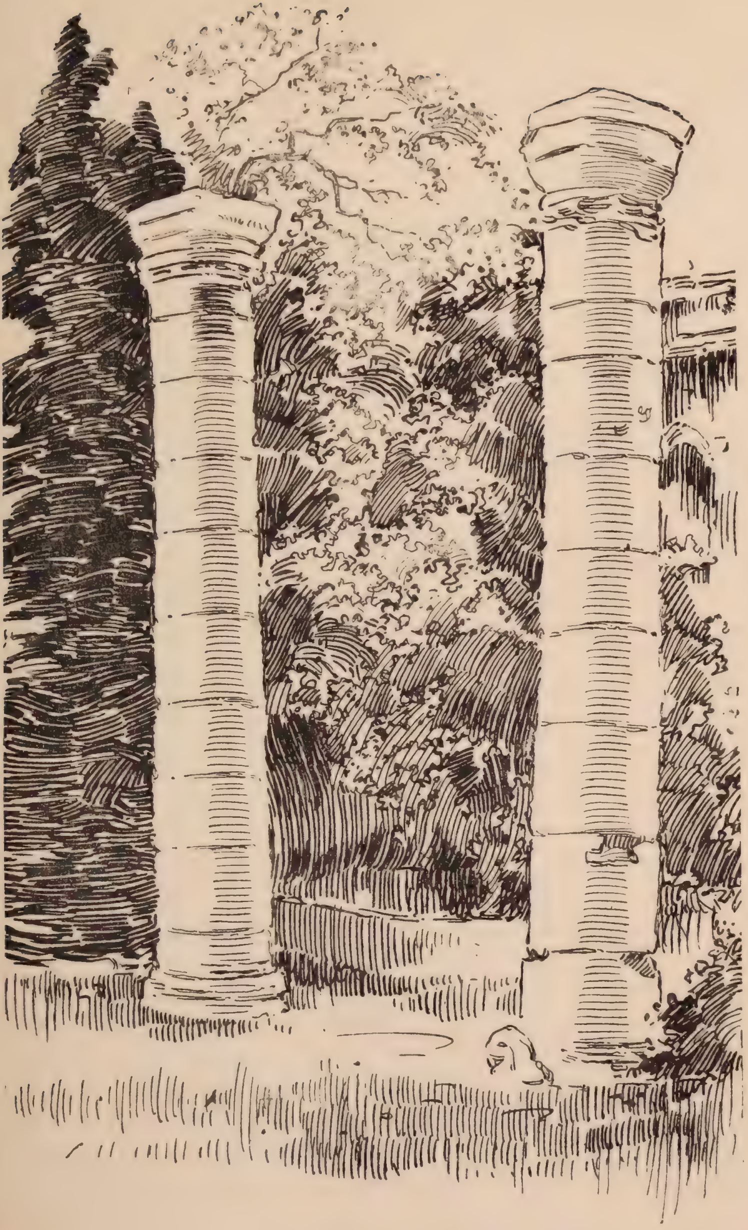
[1] "Canterbury till Domesday," by T. Godfrey Faussett, in the *Journal of Arch. Institute*, vol. xiii.



Pillars from the Saxon Church of Reculver

insufficient in themselves to account for the rapidity and permanence of St. Augustine's work, no doubt contributed towards both. In Kent the Gospel seed germinated quickly, and was less subjected to the blighting influences which elsewhere often destroyed the crop before maturity was attained. There were fewer relapses to heathendom in Kent than elsewhere; had it been otherwise the metropolitical see would, in accordance with Pope Gregory's injunctions, have been established in London and not in Canterbury.

Ethelbert's baptism, on Whit-Sunday 597, was followed by the conversion of many of his subjects; but it was not until five years later that Augustine felt that sufficient progress had been made in the evangelistic side of his work to warrant the establishment of his episcopal see. Canterbury, as the capital of the Kentish kingdom and the seat of royalty, was obviously the proper place for the cathedral church. It is not unlikely that Augustine at once recognised the original purpose of one of the principal buildings attached to the palace, and he may well have suggested to his royal convert the surrender of what had been once church property as a suitable act of reparation. If we may trust the anonymous author of the "Life of St. Augustine," Ethelbert, in the fervour of his early piety, not only consented to restore the desecrated church but handed over the whole of the royal demesne to the archbishop, and retired to Reculver. It has been generally assumed that the Roman church was in a ruinous condition, and that it was either rebuilt by Augustine or very considerably enlarged by him. But it is unlikely that Ethelbert would have permitted a dilapidated building to encumber the precincts of his palace, of which it formed probably an integral part. Moreover, Augustine's life was only prolonged for three years after the consecration of Christ's Church, during which period his attention must have been chiefly directed to the church of SS. Peter and Paul, which was in course of erection outside the city walls.

But although there is no evidence that the Roman church was rebuilt or enlarged by Augustine, there are reasons for believing that the description which Eadmer gives does not represent the church as Augustine found it. In order to recover the original plan of the church it will be necessary to examine critically Eadmer's account of it.[1] It is quite clear from Eadmer's description that the church was basilican in form—that is to say, it was an oblong parallelogram having an aisle on either side of the central hall or nave. In Eadmer's days it had an apse, or semicircular termination, at both its eastern and western ends. The eastern apse was occupied by the presbytery, which extended westwards beyond the chord of the apse and was built over a lofty crypt, or *confessio.* Against the wall of the eastern apse was the high altar, and in front of it, set on the chord of the apse, was the matutinal altar.

The western apse was occupied by the altar of the blessed Virgin Mary, behind which, against the wall in the centre of the curve, was the archbishop's *cathedra*, or throne. About half-way down the north and south sides of the church and projecting beyond the aisles were two towers, the southern forming a porch, or side chapel, which was also used as a law court; the northern, which formed part of the cloisters, serving as a school for novices. Now the double apse—though found in the cathedral churches of Treves and Mayence in Germany and of Nevers and Besançon in France, as well as in the great monastic church of St. Gall—did not form part of the plan of the ancient St. Peter's on the Vatican or of some forty other of the earliest churches in Rome. In these churches of primitive type, the narthex, or principal entrance, was at the east end, the apse and the high altar at the

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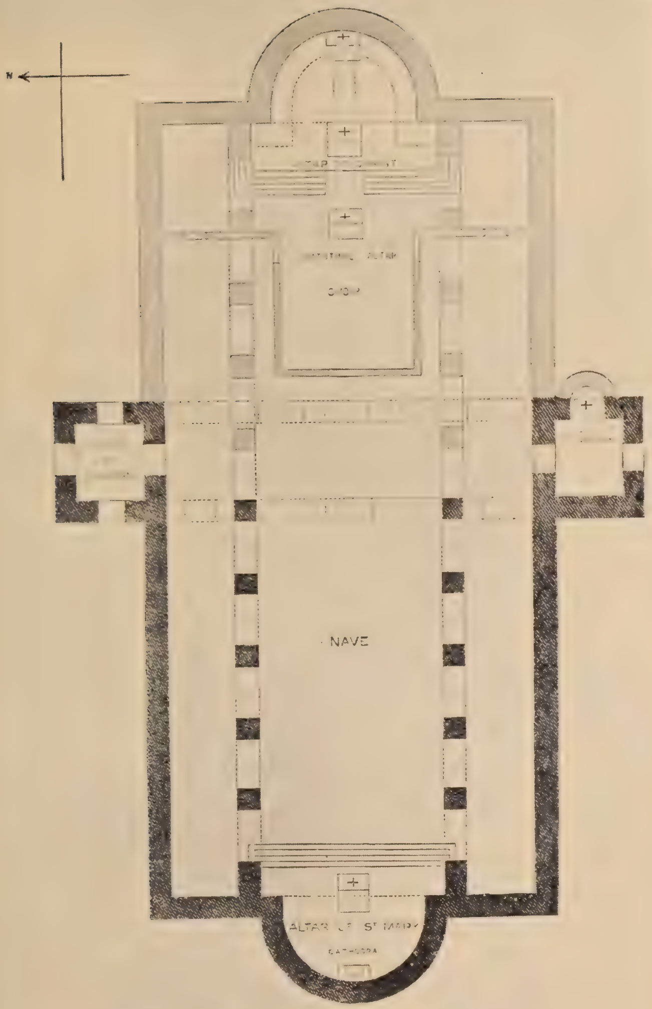
[1] A translation of Eadmer's description of the Roman-Saxon church is given in the appendix to the present chapter.



CONJECTURAL PLAN OF THE ROMAN-SAXON CHURCH

The unshaded parts show the extensions made in Saxon times. From George G. Scott's Essay on "English Church Architecture"

west-end, so that the celebrant, while he faced the people, faced also towards the east. It has been conjectured, with much probability, that the double apse was a later development of the primitive single western one, and that it had its origin in the growth of the monastic system.

As the community increased in numbers the choirs of the basilicas (which were, of course, placed in the nave) were found to afford insufficient accommodation and privacy. The difficulty was met by leaving the original altar at the west end to serve as the people's altar, and by adding at the east end a new altar for the use of the religious.[1] Probably then the original Romano-British church at Canterbury was a short-aisled basilica with a western apse; and that in Saxon times it was extended eastwards so as to provide an altar for the monks and a more convenient choir. This lengthening of the church eastwards would, of course, bring the flanking towers—which probably were connected originally with the portico of the eastern entrance—into the position they occupied in Eadmer's day, viz. about half-way between the eastern and western extremities of the church.

The earliest recorded addition to the fabric was made one hundred and thirty years after the death of St. Augustine, when Archbishop Cuthbert erected a smaller church in close proximity to the eastern end of the larger one. Eadmer tells us that the new church was designed to serve as a baptistery, a law court, and a mausoleum for the Archbishop and his successors.[2] From the fact that it was dedicated under the invocation of St. John the Baptist we may infer that the principal purpose of the new church was to accommodate the crowds of catechumens which at the seasons of Epiphany, Easter and Whitsuntide would throng to the cathedral church for Holy Baptism. And Eadmer's statement that the baptistery was placed near the eastern end of the larger church seems to suggest that the principal entrance to that church was still at the eastern end, since baptisteries, like fonts, in later times, were almost invariably placed near to the church-doors.

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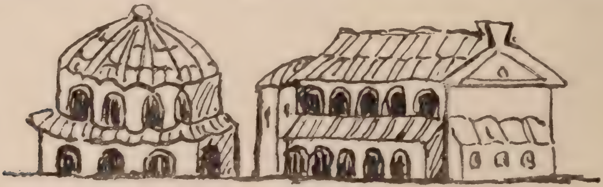
[1] *See* George Gilbert Scott's "Essay on Church Architecture," London, 1881.

[2] Eadmer's *Vita S. Bregwini* in *Anglia Sacra*, p. 186.

No description of the building has been preserved, but from examples which are still extant in Italy and elsewhere of early baptisteries it may be conjectured that it was either circular or octagonal in plan, and possibly resembled in general outline the baptistery formerly attached to the church of S. Apollinare Nuovo at Ravenna.[1]


Church and Baptistery of S. Apollinare at Ravenna

Very considerable building operations were in progress at Canterbury during the archiepiscopate of Wulfred (805–832), but the Archbishop's charter, which makes mention of " rebuilding and restoring," seems to refer rather to the conventual buildings than to the church itself.[2]

In the tenth century an extensive restoration of the fabric of the church was carried out by Archbishop Odo (940–960). It is true that Eadmer does not mention any alteration of the ground plan, but merely records that the church was re-roofed by Odo and that he also raised the walls "to give it a more aspiring altitude."[1] But it is significant that not many years previously several very notable relics had been acquired, which may have caused a demand for more shrine room. Thus less than fifty years earlier Archbishop Plegmund had brought from Rome "the blessed martyr Blasius,"[2] and Odo himself had recently brought from Ripon a portion of the body of St. Wilfrid.[3] A third acquisition of a similar kind was the relics of St. Audoen (St. Owen), sometime Archbishop of Rouen, whose wonder-working properties had been carefully tested before they were deposited at Canterbury. It is therefore not unlikely that the lofty crypt, or confessionary, at the eastern end of the church, of which Eadmer makes particular mention, may have been constructed by Odo to accommodate these newly acquired treasures, and that the eastern extension of the church was the necessary outcome of this alteration. The crypt at Canterbury has always been such a prominent feature of the cathedral church that it may be well to say something here as to the origin and evolution of the confessionary generally. In the Early Church it was the custom to erect a cell outside the city walls over the tomb of a martyr, to which the faithful might resort for prayer. At a later date visits to the actual burial-places fell into disuse, and the Christian community, instead of going out to honour their martyrs, brought their relics within the city walls, where, instead of building places of worship above their tombs, they dug tombs under the churches, in which the precious relics were deposited. This was the origin of the *confessio* of the basilicas, and at a later period of the crypts, which answered the same purpose.[1] Their original purpose as a repository for the body of a martyr or confessor was, however, entirely lost sight of when the custom was introduced of raising the bodies of saints above instead of placing them below the sanctuary floor, and setting them in lofty shrines instead of within a narrow crypt. It has also been pointed out that those great mediæval churches which have crypts, as York and Canterbury, represent in so far the Latin tradition ; those which are without this feature—as St. Albans, Salisbury, and Westminster—follow in this respect the traditions of Glastonbury and of the early British Church.[2]

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[1] *See* Professor Baldwin Brown's " From Schola to Cathedral," p. 75.

[2] By his charter dated 813 Wulfred granted certain privileges to the monks of Christ Church, " renouando et restaurando pro honore et amore Dei sanctum monasterium Dorovornensis ecclesiae reaedificando refici auxiliantibus ejusdem ecclesiae presbyteriis ac diaconibus cunctoque clero Deo servientium simul." *Cartularium Saxonicum*, W. de Gray Birch, 1880.

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[1] *Vita Odonis* in *Anglia Sacra*, vol. ii. p. 83.

[2] Gervase's *Acta Pontificum* in *Decem Scriptores*, p. 1644.

[3] Eadmer's *Vita S. Wilfridi*, Mabillon, vol. iii. p. 227.

During the fifty years that followed the death of Odo there is no record of any change in the fabric of the cathedral church. But in 1011, when Alphege was Archbishop, the city fell into the hands of the Danes, and the Archbishop and monks, in order to escape the massacre which was going on in the streets, sought sanctuary within the church, the doors of which were barricaded against the foe. Thereupon the Vikings placed empty barrels against the walls of the building and set fire to the pile, by which means they managed to ignite the rafters of the wooden roof. This had the desired effect, for when the melted lead began to pour down inside the church the monks were perforce driven out. With the exception of four who made good their escape, the brethren were put to the sword, and the Archbishop, after suffering many indignities at the hands of his captors, was cruelly done to death at Greenwich seven months later. The surrender of the Archbishop, however, saved the church, for Eadmer tells us that, though grievously damaged, the church was not entirely destroyed by the fire, which seems to have gone out after consuming the roof.[3]

[1] Baldwin Brown, *op. cit.* chapter ii.

[2] G. G. Scott, *ut supra*, p. 71.

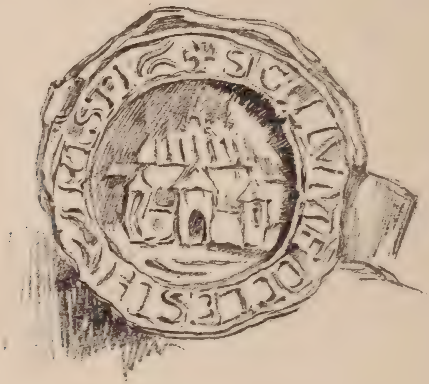
[3] Eadmer, *Epist. de corpore S. Dunstani*, *Anglia Sacra*, vol. ii. p. 225.

The body of the murdered Archbishop was ransomed by the Londoners and deposited with all reverence in their church of St. Paul. But eleven years later his relics were translated to Canterbury, where they were enshrined on the north side of the high altar, in the presence of King Canute and his royal consort, Queen Emma. As an expiatory act for the misdeeds of his fellow countrymen, the King laid upon the high altar his crown of gold and the Queen presented to the church a chalice of the same precious metal. In later times the crown was suspended from the beam which carried the great Rood.

But although the ancient church survived the intentional incendiarism of the Danes, an accidental fire which broke out in the city and spread to the cathedral brought its career to a close less than sixty years later. Indeed, it may be said to have perished with the Saxon dynasty, for the conflagration occurred in the year after the Norman Conquest (1067), though in no way connected with that great national event. So complete was the disaster that Eadmer tells us that the flames

> consumed nearly all that was then preserved most precious, whether in ornaments of gold, of silver, or of other materials, or in sacred and profane books. Amongst which were the muniments, the bulls of Popes, and the charters of kings carefully sealed and collected together—all for ever reduced to ashes.

For three years the blackened ruins of the church were left standing, but with the advent of the new Norman Archbishop all vestiges of the Roman-Saxon church were swept away. The materials of which it was composed were doubtless re-used, for this was the usual practice when a church was destroyed, but probably chiefly to form the cores of the massive Norman piers and walls of the new sanctuary. According to Eadmer the very foundations of the old church were eradicated by Lanfranc; but whether this was actually the case or not, they are not likely to be recovered, since they must lie within the area of the present church. A few fragments of Roman tile are to be seen here and there built into the walls of those portions of the conventual buildings which have survived from early Norman times, but these are the sole memorials of the Roman-Saxon church. It is, however, possible that an illustration of the pre-Norman church is still preserved in the impression of the earliest conventual seal. Although attached to a document of the twelfth century, the impression seems to show a church having a double apse and an entrance through a low tower, or lofty porch, about midway between its eastern and western extremities, which may represent the "Suthdore" described by Eadmer. It is true that Camden and others assert that seals were not used in pre-Norman times, but it seems inconceivable that the cathedral and metropolitical church of Canterbury did not possess a seal at an earlier date, and if so the old matrix may very well have remained in use for many years after the church represented thereon had passed away.



The Earliest Seal of the Prior and Convent

Before we discuss the architectural history of Lanfranc's church, it may be convenient to give here some brief description of the *personnel* attached to it predecessor.

It has been asserted that the substitution of secular canons for Benedictine monks by Henry VIII merely reversed the reform carried out by Archbishop Lanfranc, who replaced the secular clergy by regulars. But such a statement requires considerable modification to bring it into line with actual fact. Christ Church, Canterbury, was monastic in its origin, and, with the exception of a short interval when a pestilence well-nigh exterminated the monks, it continued to be served by monks during the whole of the Saxon period. It is true that its monastic character was, in a sense, accidental. A missionary bishop, himself a monk, accompanied by a staff of monks, settled in Canterbury, and the latter became the clergy of the bishop's church. The church itself was called a monastery, and the charters which conveyed to the community lands or privileges were addressed to the "family" (*familiæ*) serving God in the Church of our Saviour. But the essential character of its inmates was priestly, not monastic. In course of time, as the country became more generally Christianised, a settled clergy unbound by monastic rules took charge of the outlying districts, and no doubt from time to time these secular clerks formed part of the *entourage* of the Archbishop, who, however, during the whole of the Saxon period shared in the common life of the monastery. Their presence would naturally tend to a relaxation of the Benedictine rule—never a very strict one—until no great difference could be distinguished between those who were under vows and those who were not. Bishop Stubbs goes as far as to say that by 942 it is doubtful whether there were any real Benedictines in England, since Odo, and probably Dunstan, when desirous of restoring the true discipline, sought the knowledge of it, not in England, but at Fleury in France.[1]

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[1] Introduction to *Epistolæ Cantuar*, R.S., vol. xxxviii.

Dunstan's predilection for monasticism is well known, but it is remarkable that the reforms which he inaugurated with so much zeal elsewhere do not seem to have extended to his own cathedral church. The work of restoring the monastic character of the staff of Christ Church was left to Archbishop Ælfric, who succeeded to the See of Canterbury in 995.

The Saxon Chronicle relates that when Ælfric came to Canterbury "he was received by those men in orders who of all were most distasteful to him, namely, by clerks." The Archbishop at once summoned an inquest of the oldest and wisest men, both ecclesiastical and lay, to inquire into the right and title of these officiating clerks. After due deliberation the jury found that according to the Pope's directions to St. Augustine the "inhabitants" of Christ Church should always be of the same order as those first sent to effect the conversion of the people; and that this had been so until the days of Archbishop Ceolnoth (833), when, after a great mortality had carried off all the monks except five, the Archbishop had been constrained to allow his church to be served by secular priests.[1] Ælfric at once determined upon the ejection of the intruders, and, having obtained the Pope's sanction to the reform, when he visited Rome for his pall, it was duly carried out on his return to Canterbury. Thereafter monks alone formed the cathedral staff, though it is uncertain how far they conformed to the standard set by St. Benedict. As Lanfranc's establishment of one hundred and fifty monks is said to have tripled the number formerly attached to Christ Church, the original number was fifty. Although in Saxon times the head of the monastery was called dean instead of prior, the title indicated no difference in the extent of authority exercised, and was in use at the same period in the convents of Worcester, Hyde, Glastonbury, and St. Edmundsbury, as well as at Canterbury. Henry, the last dean, became the first prior of Lanfranc's new foundation.

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[1] A.S. Chron., Thorpe, ii. p. 108.

Nineteen Saxon archbishops were buried within the walls of their cathedral church. Augustine had, in accordance with Roman custom, provided a place of interment for himself and his successors outside the city walls, and he and the next nine archbishops were laid to rest in the church, or cemetery, of SS. Peter and Paul (St. Augustine's). Cuthbert, the eleventh archbishop, obtained the Papal sanction for interments in the cathedral church, and by a subterfuge the monks of Christ Church laid his remains there in spite of the remonstrances of the inmates of the rival house. With the exception of Jaenbert, who had been Abbot of St. Augustine's and was on that account allowed to find a resting-place there; Robert, who for a like reason was buried at Jumièges; and the deposed Stigand, who died and was buried at Winchester; the rest of the archbishops of Anglo-Saxon times were interred in their own cathedral church.

C. E. W.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER I

EADMER'S DESCRIPTION OF THE ROMAN-SAXON CATHEDRAL[1]

"*This was that very church which had been built by Romans, as Bede witnesses in his history, and which was duly arranged in some parts in imitation of the Church of the blessed Prince of the Apostles, Peter, in which his holy relics are exalted by the veneration of the whole world. The venerable Odo had translated the body of the blessed Wilfrid, Archbishop of York, from Ripon to*

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[1] *De reliquiis S. Audoeni*, &c., MS. Corpus Christi Coll., Cambs. p. 441, and Gervase, *De Combustione;* the translation is from Willis's "Architectural History of Canterbury Cathedral."

Canterbury, and had worthily placed it in a more lofty receptacle, to use his own words—that is to say, in the great altar which was constructed of rough stones and mortar, close to the wall at the eastern part of the presbytery. Afterwards another altar was placed at a convenient distance before the aforesaid altar, and dedicated in honour of our Lord Jesus Christ, at which altar the divine mysteries were daily celebrated. In this altar the blessed Elphege had solemnly deposited the head of St. Swithin, which he had brought with him when he was translated from Winchester to Canterbury, and also many relics of other saints. To reach these altars, a certain crypt which the Romans call a confessionary had to be ascended by means of several steps from the choir of singers. This crypt was fabricated beneath in the likeness of the Confessionary of St. Peter, the vault of which was raised so high that the part above could only be reached by many steps. Within, this crypt had at the east an altar, in which was enclosed the head of the blessed Furseus, as of old it was asserted. Moreover, the single passage (of entrance), which ran westward from the curved part of the crypt, reached from thence up to the resting-place of the blessed Dunstan, which was separated from the crypt itself by a strong wall; for that holy father was interred before the aforesaid steps at a great depth in the ground, and at the head of the saint stood the matutinal altar. Thence the choir of singers was extended westward into the body (aula) *of the church, and shut out from the multitude by a decent enclosure.*

"*In the next place, beyond the middle of the length of the body, there were two towers which projected beyond the aisles of the church. The south tower had an altar in the midst of it, which was dedicated to the blessed Pope Gregory. At the side was the principal door of the church, which of old by the English and even now is called the Suthdure, and is often mentioned by this name in the law-books of the ancient kings. For all disputes from the whole kingdom, which cannot legally be referred to the*

King's Court or to the hundreds or counties, do in this place receive judgment. Opposite to this tower and on the north, there was another tower in honour of the blessed Martin, and had about it cloisters for the use of the monks. And as the first tower was devoted to legal contentions and judgments of this world, so in the second the younger brethren were instructed in the knowledge of the offices of the church, for the different seasons and hours of the day and night.

"The extremity of the church was adorned by the oratory of Mary, the blessed Mother of God, which was so constructed that access could only be had to it by steps. At its eastern part there was an altar consecrated to the worship of that Lady, which had within it the head of the blessed virgin Austroberta. When the priest performed the divine mysteries at this altar he had his face turned to the east, towards the people who stood below. Behind him to the west was the pontifical chair, constructed with handsome workmanship and of large stones and cement, and far removed from the Lord's table, being contiguous to the wall of the church which embraced the entire area of the building. And this was the plan of the church of Canterbury."

PRE-NORMAN DEANS OF CANTERBURY

The following list was compiled by Mr. W. G. Searle and printed in his edition of "Stone's Chronicle" for the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, 1902:

C. 798.	Cuba.
C. 805.	Beornheard.
C. 813.	Heahfrith.
C. 830.	Ceolnoth (Archbishop 833–70).
C. 860.	Æthelwine.
C. 871.	Eadmund.
C. 1015.	Æthelnoth (Archbishop 1020–38).

C. 1020. Godric.
C. 1055. Æthelric (bishop of Selsey 1058–70).
C. 1070. Henry.

The following names have no date assigned to them :

Ælfric.
Ælfsige.
Ælfwine I.
Ælfwine II.
Kynsige.
Maurice.

CHAPTER II

LANFRANC'S NORMAN CHURCH

Capital in the Crypt

The condition of the metropolitical church and its surroundings when Lanfranc first set foot in Canterbury was by no means inspiriting. The new Archbishop found his *ecclesia* a mere mass of blackened ruins and its staff of clergy represented by a few monks of lax life, who, moreover, for the moment were almost without a lodging. The difficulties of his position at first filled Lanfranc with despair, but he quickly shook off his feelings of depression, and in spite of his years—he was sixty-five when he succeeded to the Primacy—set himself resolutely to a task which might well have daunted a much younger man. His first care was to provide accommodation for the burnt-out monks. With the exception of the *refectorium* or *frater*-house, the dormitory and that part of the cloister alley which lay between them, none of the conventual buildings were deemed worthy of preservation, and they were forthwith demolished. The old *frater*-house, which had escaped the ravages of the fire, was temporarily fitted up for divine service during the rebuilding of the cathedral; but since Lanfranc intended to treble the number of monks, an entire set of new buildings was rendered necessary, and when this was done the whole of the monastic precinct was enclosed within a substantially built stone wall.[1]

When this had been accomplished the Archbishop turned his attention to the church itself. The fabric seems to have been patched up sufficiently to allow the Archbishop's consecration to take place within its tottering walls on August 29, 1070, but a survey of its condition convinced him that age and the fire combined had rendered the old church "completely unserviceable." He therefore, in the words of Eadmer, "destroyed it utterly" and "set about to erect a more noble one, and in the space of seven years he raised this church from the foundations, and rendered it nearly perfect."[2] The work was commenced (as was customary in the Middle Ages) at the east end, since Eadmer tells us that Lanfranc, before the work was begun, caused the bodies of the saints to be removed from their shrines near the high altar to the western end of the church, "where the oratory of the blessed Virgin Mary stood." This would seem to show that the western part of the church, at any rate, was not quite in such a ruinous condition as Eadmer implies, and it is a matter for regret that the western apse, "that venerable relic of a Christianity older than St. Augustine," was not incorporated in the new design. Mediæval builders, however, were seldom influenced by any antiquarian sentiment in favour of the work of their predecessors; and of course there was this difficulty about preserving the ancient apse, that Lanfranc wished to give his new church considerable extension towards the west while retaining (in accordance with custom) the high altar in its original position. Hence as the work proceeded westwards the old church was gradually demolished.

Lanfranc was not without experience in church building, since six years before he came to Canterbury he had set out the ground plan of the great monastic church of St. Stephen at Caen, in Normandy, of which he had been appointed by Duke William the first abbot. Possibly he may have been personally responsible for the whole design of that church. However that may have been, the plan and dimensions of St. Stephen's were reproduced with remarkable exactitude at Christ Church. The choirs of both churches were rebuilt in the twelfth century, but the nave of St. Stephen's at Caen remains to-day much as the Norman masons left it. It has eight bays (the same number that Canterbury possesses to-day) with a western façade and flanking towers; north and south transepts of two unequal bays with apsidal chapels in their eastern walls, and a gallery in each across the outer bay supported by a massive pillar; and a low lantern tower at the crossing. It is quite clear, from Eadmer's description, that all these features were reproduced by Lanfranc at Canterbury. Moreover, the architectural style of both churches was the same; in both the rounded arch and massive pier conspicuous in the romanesque buildings of the Archbishop's native Lombardy reappeared in that modified form which had recently been adopted by the people of his northern home. Nor was it only for the design of his new cathedral church that Lanfranc was indebted to Normandy, but also for much of the material of which it was constructed. The quarries in the neighbourhood of Caen produced an excellent freestone for the ashlar work. Water carriage was cheap, and the Archbishop's barges could discharge their freights at the convent's quay at Fordwich, within two miles of Canterbury. From the eleventh century to the nineteenth Caen stone retained its popularity at Canterbury, and was used in all the successive rebuildings and repairings of the cathedral until quite recent times. Lately, however, it has been thought that under the atmospheric conditions of to-day the stone shows a tendency to rapid disintegration, and renewals have been made with Doulting stone from the Somersetshire quarries. For the crowns of the vaults, and for inside work intended to be covered with plaster, Lanfranc made much use of a light calcareous stone called tufa, which is still to be found in mid-Kent and elsewhere, but which went out of fashion as a building stone early in the twelfth century, so that its presence may be taken as evidence of early Norman work. Much tufa occurs at Canterbury in the vaults beneath the monastic *necessarium* and in the remains of the great dormitory.

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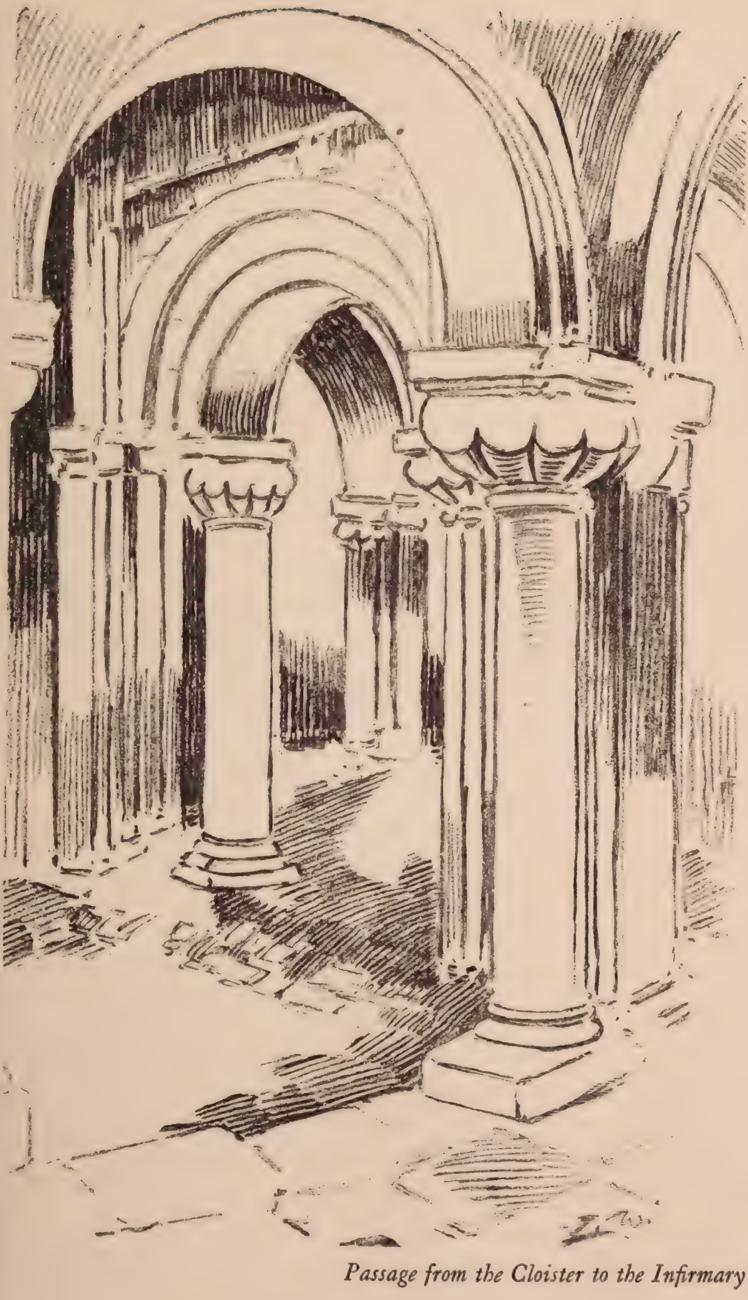
[1] William of Malmsbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, R.S., p. 69.

[2] Eadmer, *Hist. Nov.*, i. p. 7.

In spite of the impression of immense strength given by the massive piers and walls of a Norman church, there is an element of instability in their construction owing to the fact that their cores are formed of rubble, which, if not carefully grouted in, is apt to shift its position. When this occurs the ashlar casing, owing to the inequality of the pressure, becomes cracked, and the stability of the building is impaired. There was probably some defect of this kind at Canterbury, which may well have been due to the haste with which the church was built. Christ Church, which was finished in seven years, was in a ruinous condition in less than three hundred, and had to be rebuilt, while St. Stephen's, erected about the same time but in a much more leisurely manner, stands firm after the lapse of eight centuries.

The ground plan of Lanfranc's nave and transepts was conterminous with that of the present church. This is clear from the fact that neither the central tower nor the two western ones were removed when the nave was rebuilt towards the end of the fourteenth century. Willis was of opinion that the plinth of the Norman nave still existed, but a careful examination of the stones fails to confirm this. On the other hand, the professor's conjecture that the Norman piers of the great central tower were merely cased over by the fourteenth-century masons was verified in a



Passage from the Cloister to the Infirmary

remarkable manner quite recently, when, after holes had been cut in the ashlar casing of the western piers for the purpose of forcing liquid cement into their cores, one of the original Norman shafts with its cushion capital was brought to light. The nave piers, like those of the almost contemporary abbey-church of St. Alban, in Hertfordshire, were doubtless oblong masses of masonry with small shafts set at their angles. At Caen the shafts on the side facing the central alley of the nave are alternately single and triple, and run up to the roof, which was not vaulted, but constructed of timber and painted on its inner side; a similar arrangement was probably adopted at Canterbury. The triforium (if the fashion set by St. Stephen's was followed) was a repetition on a smaller scale of the rounded arches of the main arcade beneath, either open to the plain barrel-vaulted roof above or provided with a floor of timber.[1]

Willis, on the analogy of St. Stephen's, has laid down the plan of Christ Church with three western entrances only,[2] but it is more probable that the *Suthdore* of the Saxon church was represented in its Norman successor, and that the south-west doorway has been from that day to this the usual place for entry.

Another feature of the Saxon church which was allowed to influence the new design was the lofty *confessio* or crypt beneath the eastern portion of the church; it is one that does not occur in St. Stephen's at Caen, but has always reappeared in Christ Church during successive rebuildings.

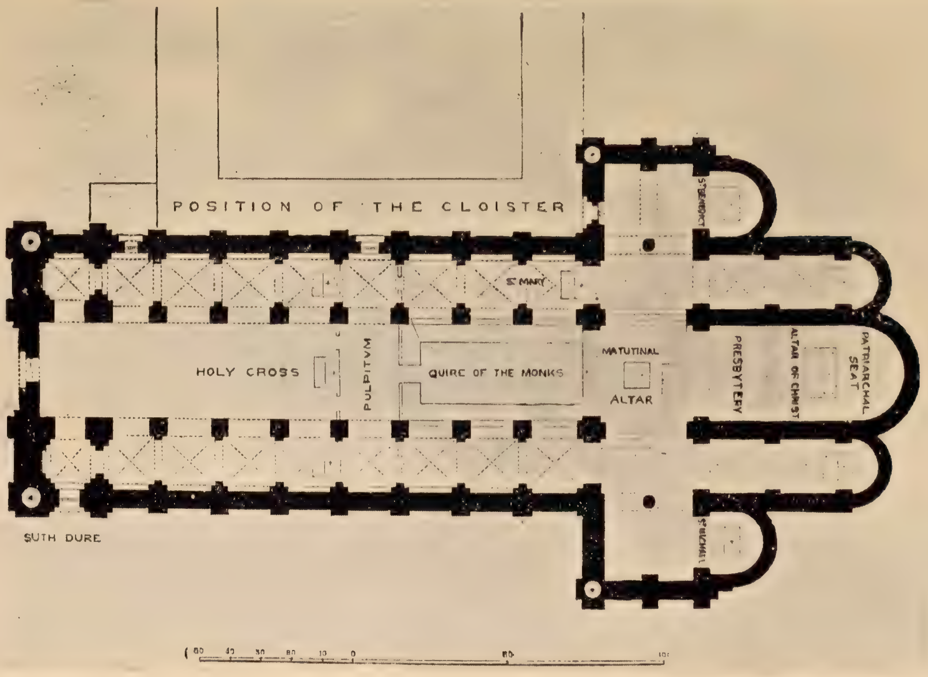
The eastward extension of Lanfranc's choir was a matter of some uncertainty until excavations in the crypt, about seventeen years ago, cleared up the doubt which had previously existed. Gervase, who was an inmate of the monastery at the time of the great fire which occurred in 1174, has left us a description of

[1] Scott's "Essay," *ut supra*.

[2] Willis, *ut supra*, p. 38.

the western portion of the church, but says nothing of the choir, which, indeed, was pulled down seventy years or more before his time. Willis, from the analogy of other churches in Normandy and from the fact that Lanfranc's choir was so soon enlarged, conjectured that it extended no further than two bays eastward of the tower arch, and this was confirmed by the discovery of the apsidal foundations of the three eastern chapels when the crypt was restored in recent years. The exact position of the wall of the apse of the northern chapel has been marked by a curved line set in the new concrete floor, and although the apses of the other chapels are not indicated in a similar way, their discovery is vouched for by the senior verger, who was present at the time the excavations were made. A choir of only two bays could scarcely have accommodated the one hundred and fifty monks of Lanfranc's new foundation, nor was it intended to do so, for the brethren doubtless continued to occupy the eastern bays of the nave. Indeed (as has been pointed out by the late George Scott), the typical division of a church prior to the twelfth century was not nave and choir, or nave, choir, and sanctuary, but nave and sanctuary. The ritual choir, then, of Lanfranc's church probably occupied the three eastern bays of the nave and was separated by a screen at its western end from the church of the layfolk, who would worship at the Altar of the Holy Cross beneath the great Rood. That the monks were still placed in the nave receives further confirmation from Gervase's statement that the organ *formerly* (apparently not in his day) stood in the gallery of the southern transept, a position which would scarcely have been chosen unless the singers were placed in the nave.

From Gervase's account it would seem that the altar of the monks (known as the matutinal altar) was set upon a platform beneath the central tower



PLAN OF LANFRANC'S CHURCH (1070–1077)
FROM GEORGE G. SCOTT'S ESSAY ON "ENGLISH CHURCH ARCHITECTURE"

space, whence a flight of steps led up through the eastern tower arch to the presbytery, beyond which and approached by more steps was the high altar with the patriarchal seat set within the chord of the central apse.

As to the external appearance of the church, Gervase tells us that the central tower had a spire (*pinna*) which was surmounted by the gilded figure of a seraph. It would seem, however, that the winged figure which seemed to hover over the church was really intended to typify the protecting presence of the Saviour, in whose Name the church was hallowed, for John of Salisbury calls it the "Angel Steeple," the symbol of the "Angel of the Great Counsel," under whose protecting wings the metropolitical church reposed:

> Far seen with gilded seraph crowned,
> This shrine is Britain's holiest ground.
> Yet if, for love of all things fair,
> Strangers shall to this spot repair,
> "What be these walls," they ask, "and why
> Yon seraph pointing to the sky?"
> This mother-shrine was first to sing
> The praises of the Heavenly King:
> By her the sacred lore was taught;
> By her a nation's creed was wrought.
> To her our thankful hearts we raise
> In honour, duty, love, and praise.
> And if the Seraph's name ye crave,
> Ask who the Heavenly Counsel gave:
> Poised on his outspread wings he spies
> The precinct of his Paradise:
> At watch and ward lest foeman dare
> To claim a right of conquest there.
> Haste to the Church of Christ and enter in:
> So shall ye find a shriving for your sin.[1]

The two western towers, which Gervase describes as "lofty," were also crowned with little gilded spires

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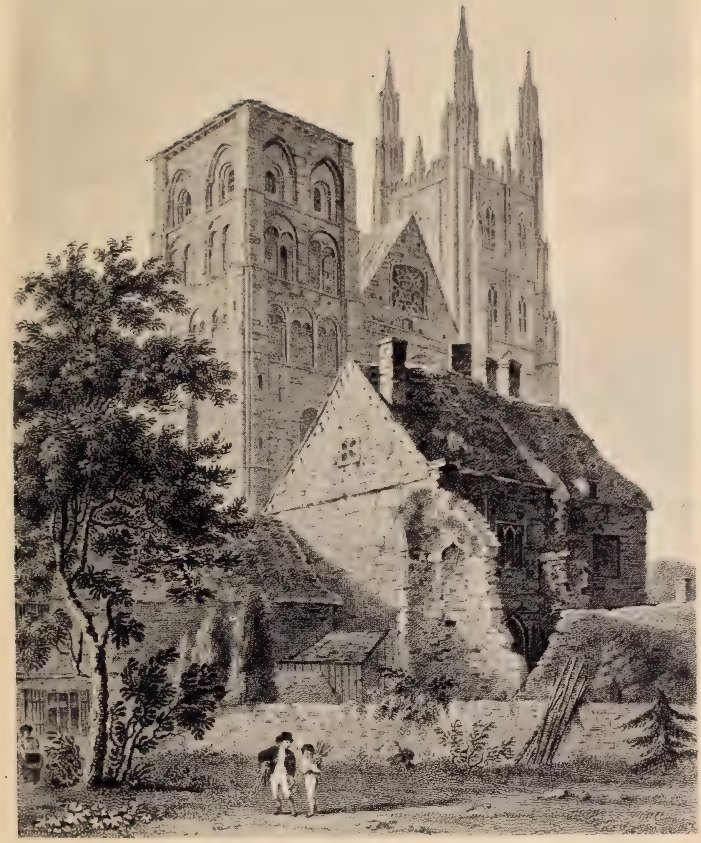
[1] For this English version of the Latin verses which John of Salisbury prefixed to his *Policraticus* we are indebted to the Rev. Leonard Evans, second master of the King's School, Canterbury.

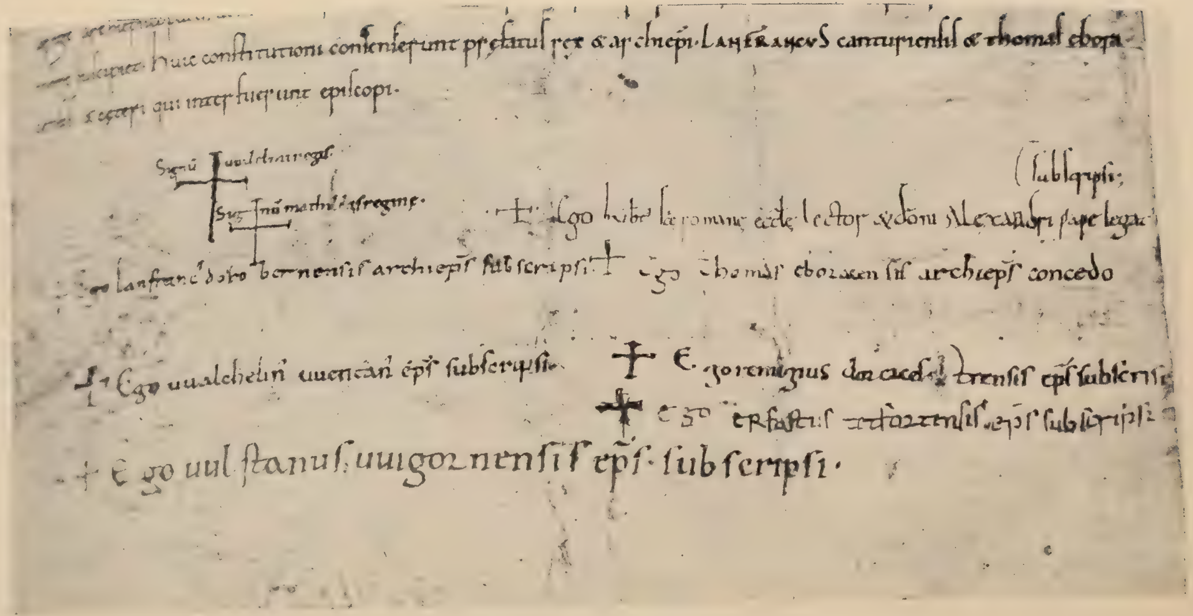
(*pinnacula*). The northern one, which was still standing within the memory of some of the present inhabitants of the city, is well figured in Woolnoth's "Illustrations of Canterbury Cathedral." Built in five stories, the four upper ones were decorated with arcade work, and it would seem that the topmost srory was either added or subjected to alteration at a later date, for here the arcading over the windows assumes a pointed form.

No record of the dedication of Lanfranc's church is extant, but the date may perhaps be fixed by a note in the "Black Book" of the Archdeacon of Canterbury, which places *Dedicatio Ecclesie* against the fourth day of October—a day which does not tally with subsequent dedications recorded by Gervase and others. If, then, Eadmer's statement that the work was begun in 1070 and occupied seven years be accepted, the dedication ceremony took place October 4, 1077. With the exception of the Confessor's Abbey at Westminster, Lanfranc's cathedral church was the first Norman church erected in this country. In size it vastly excelled its venerable predecessor, and thus typified the forward movement and extended outlook which the ecclesiastical policy of the new Primate was about to inaugurate.

The primacy of Canterbury, in Saxon times a shadowy thing, became under Lanfranc a substantial reality. It was in vain that Thomas of York protested, since Lanfranc possessed the ear of the Conqueror and was able to point out to him that the supremacy of Canterbury would tend towards the consolidation of the kingdom. The matter was definitely settled at a council held at Winchester and afterwards adjourned to Windsor. The original document bearing witness to the accord still remains amongst the Chapter archives, and is an instrument of the highest importance and of peculiar interest, since all the signatures of the attesting parties appear to be in



THE NORTH-WEST TOWER, AND
RUINS OF THE PALACE IN 1816



[illegible]

[illegible] Huic constitutioni consenserunt prefatus rex et archiepi. Lanfrancus cantuariensis et thomas ebora-

[illegible] ceteri qui interfuerunt episcopi.

Signū Willelmi regis.

Signū mathildis regine.

Ego hubt̄ s̄ce romane ecc̄le lector et dom̄i Alexandri pape legat̄ subscripsi;

Ego lanfranc' dorobernensis archieps subscripsi. Ego thomas eboracensis archieps concedo

Ego uualchelin' uuentan' eps subscripsi. Ego remigius dorcacestrensis eps subscripsi

Ego erfastus tedfordensis eps subscripsi.

Ego uulstanus uuigornensis eps subscripsi.

SIGNATURES TO THE ACCORD OF WINCHESTER, 1072

KING WILLIAM I.	HUBERT, THE PAPAL LEGATE
QUEEN MATILDA	THOMAS, ARCHBISHOP OF YORK
ARCHBISHOP LANFRANC	REMIGIUS, BISHOP OF CHICHESTER
WALKELIN, BISHOP OF WINCHESTER	ERFASTUS, BISHOP OF THETFORD
WULSTAN, BISHOP OF WORCESTER	

autograph.[1] Even the bold cross of the King and the more delicate one of the Queen seem to have been traced by the royal hands, the pen of Lanfranc being employed to verify them by the words "*signum uuilelmi regis*" and "*signum Mathildis regine*" respectively. The other witnesses were Hubert, the papal legate; Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury; Walkelin, bishop of Winchester; Thomas, archbishop of York; Remigius, bishop of Dorchester; Erfastus, bishop of Thetford; and Wulstan, bishop of Worcester.

It should also be noticed that whereas the other attesting bishops wrote after their names "*subscripsi*," Thomas of York added to his a reluctant "*concedo*."[2]

The accord of Winchester must also have affected favourably the prestige of the metropolitical church, and Lanfranc's reform of the monastery doubtless tended in the same direction. It is true that Lanfranc's "Constitutions" were addressed to the whole of the Benedictine Order in England, but their application to the monks of Christ Church was primary, and the need of reform was here especially urgent.

> The monks of Canterbury [says William of Malmsbury], save that they had some scruples about breaking their vow of chastity, were accustomed to indulge in hunting, hawking, dicing, and deep potations, while from the number of servants maintained their household resembled the establishment of some great officer of state rather than that of a monastery.[3]

To restore discipline without unduly offending the susceptibilities of the brethren was no easy task, especially to a foreigner, but so tactfully did the Archbishop introduce his reforms that in a short time a life more in accordance with the rule of their founder was cheerfully embraced. One change made by Lanfranc in the domestic economy of the monastery, however, was perhaps not altogether an improvement. In Saxon times the archbishops had shared the common life of the convent. This was now altered by the erection of a separate residence for the archbishop outside the monastic precinct, and by the allotment of certain estates of the church for his special maintenance.

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[1] "There is so much variety of character in these signatures," (says Dr. Sheppard, "Hist. MSS. Commission," Appendix to 5th Report, p. 452), "that it is impossible to resist the conclusion that each of them is the work of the person whose name it expresses except that of Erfastus, whose tremulous hand was only able to delineate his cross. An examination of the bold square, upstanding autograph of the Bishop of Worcester tempts one to believe that as his certainly expresses the transparent and firm character of the writer, so the other witnesses may have furnished in their signatures some materials for estimating their moral qualities.

[2] The document is in the Chapter archives.

[3] *Gesta Pontificum*, R.S., p. 70.

The withdrawal of the archbishop from the cloister was perhaps in part responsible for those mutual jealousies and suspicions which later on so seriously disturbed the harmony of the relationship between the monks and their titular head, and which, in the second half of the twelfth century, culminated in open hostility.

Thus as time went on the Primates generally preferred their more distant manor-houses to a residence in close proximity to the cantankerous Chapter of their own cathedral church.

The history of the archiepiscopal palace does not come within the scope of the present work, so a very brief outline must here suffice. Added to and altered by Stephen Langton in the first quarter of the thirteenth century and by Boniface about fifty years later, the palace was burnt in the time of Cranmer and rebuilt by Parker in 1564–65. It then became the occasional residence of that prelate and his successors until the days of Laud; but during the Commonwealth the palace was scheduled for destruction by the commissioners of the lands of cathedral establishments, and the greater part of it was actually pulled down. Such portions as were left standing were let out in tenements, and soon after the restoration of the monarchy a part was leased to those members of the

French Protestant Church who conformed to the liturgy of the Church of England. At length, in the closing years of the last century, Archbishop Temple determined to end the strange anomaly that compelled archbishops of Canterbury to depend upon the hospitality of the Deanery whenever they visited their cathedral city; and a commodious house was erected on the site of the old palace, some fragments of which were incorporated in the new work. But it is doubtful whether the new house can claim to contain any portions which date back to the days of Lanfranc.

Lanfranc died on May 24, 1089. Gervase says that (in Ernulf's church) his tomb was in the Trinity Chapel, but, as far as we know, this chapel did not exist at the time of the Archbishop's burial. After the fire of 1174 his body was temporarily removed to the nave, and was afterwards deposited near the altar of St. Martin in the north-western transept, where his name, rudely scratched upon the wall of the apse, may still be seen.

The inventories of church goods mention several valuable vestments which were presented to the church by Lanfranc, amongst which were three magnificent black chasubles enriched with gems and pearls and embroidered with cloth of gold, and four splendid copes, the first two of which were black in colour and adorned with gems and gold, each having round its edge fifty-one silver-gilt bells. It is remarkable that these vestments remained in use for nearly three hundred years, and when at length they were worn out it was deemed worth while to reduce them to ashes in order to recover the precious metal with which they were so heavily embroidered.[1]

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[1] "De una cappa vererabilis Lanfranci cremata et de diversis jocalibus fusis vendidis, cxvi$^{li.}$ vj$^{s.}$ viij$^{d.}$" ("Treasurer's Accounts," 1371–72). And "De duabus casulis venerabilis Lanfranci crematis cum aliis diversis jocalibus fusis vendidis, cxxxviij$^{li.}$ xij$^{s.}$" ("Treasurer's Accounts," 1372–73). *See also* Messrs. Legg and Hope's "Inventories of Christ Church," p. 13.

CHAPTER III

ANSELM'S CHOIR

After Lanfranc's death (May 24, 1089) the See of Canterbury remained vacant for more than four years. Meanwhile the rapacious Red King not only diverted the church's revenue to his own uses, but for the purpose of exacting the uttermost farthing from the unfortunate monks sent his emissaries to Christ Church, where they infested the very cloisters. Their conduct was indeed so insufferable that many of the brethren abandoned their vows altogether, while others sought an asylum in religious houses elsewhere.

Capital in the Crypt

At length, believing that he was stricken with mortal sickness, the King consented to make a nomination, and the crosier was thrust into the reluctant hands of Anselm, Abbot of Bec, who happened to be in England at the time, and to whom popular feeling seemed to turn instinctively.

Anselm received consecration in Canterbury Cathedral on December 4, 1093, at the hands of the Archbishop of York, assisted by no less than nine bishops of the southern province. The chief consecrator was that same Thomas of York who twenty-one years earlier had been constrained, sorely against his will, to acknowledge the primacy of Canterbury. That he was still highly sensitive to anything which might seem derogatory to the privileges of the northern See is shown by the following incident: When Walkelin, Bishop of Winchester—who was deputed to read the Act of election—described the church of Canterbury as the Metropolitical Church of all Britain, Thomas at once stopped the proceedings. Such a phrase, he protested, implied that the church of York was not a metropolitical church. The objection was allowed, and after the term "Primate of all Britain" had been substituted for "metropolitan" the ceremony was suffered to proceed, and Anselm was duly consecrated as Primate of all Britain.[1] But although consecrated and enthroned (the enthronement had preceded the consecration by several months), the Archbishop had not yet received from Rome the *pallium*, which, if it did not actually confer spiritual jurisdiction, was regarded as the indispensable badge of its possession. This symbolical vestment—the form of which is familiar from the representation of it upon the arms of the See of Canterbury, viz. a circlet of cloth made to rest upon the shoulders with pendants before and behind—was bestowed by the Pope upon metropolitans as a mark of his peculiar favour. Anselm was not the man to value lightly such a gift, especially as the vestment derived its sanctity from having been placed in contact with the relics of St. Peter, and in its absence he felt himself incapacitated from exercising his archiepiscopal functions. The difficulty was that at this juncture two claimants to the chair of St. Peter were in the field, and while Anselm had already professed obedience to one of them the King favoured the pretensions of the other. Without entering into the protracted controversy which ensued, it will be sufficient to state here that the matter was at length settled by a compromise, whereby the King consented to recognise the Pope to whom the Archbishop had made his profession, and to permit the pall to be laid upon the high altar of the cathedral church, whence Anselm consented to take it.

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[1] Eadmer, *Hist. Nov.*, R.S., p. 42.

Accordingly, the Cardinal Legate, Walter, Bishop of Albano, arrived in Canterbury on May 27, 1095, bringing with him the sacred vestment enclosed in a silver case. At the Burgate he was met by the Archbishop and the monks of Christ Church and St. Augustine's, vested in albes and copes, but with bare—that is, sandalless—feet, and was escorted by the brethren to the cathedral church. As the procession entered the great western doors the choir commenced to sing an anthem, during which a station was made before the great Rood in the nave. The procession then moved up the steps leading to the presbytery, and the pall was taken from its case and placed upon the altar. The Archbishop then blessed the people and, taking up the pall, held it folded in his hands during the singing of the *Te Deum*, the brethren meanwhile coming forward one by one and devoutly kissing it. When this had been done by all, from the Prior to the youngest novice, the Archbishop retired to the chapter-house to put on his mass vestments, the pall being placed upon his shoulders by the legate, who accompanied the act with the following words: "Receive this pall, a sign of the high priesthood of thy Lord God, by which, defended and fortified on every side, thou mayest overcome every onslaught of the enemy and, strengthened by this divine armour, rid thyself from all the snares of the evil one. The Lord God being thine aid, who liveth for ever and ever. Amen."[1]

The ceremony was witnessed by an enormous congregation of both clergy and laity.[2] And possibly it was on this occasion that the inadequacy of the accommodation afforded by Lanfranc's church for the due celebration of a stately ceremonial first became apparent. Anselm himself may have noticed some unseemly crowding amongst the distinguished occupants of the exiguous area which constituted the presbytery, and may have recognised the necessity of an eastward extension.

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[1] Eadmer, *Hist. Nov.*, R.S., p. 72, and a memorandum amongst the Chapter archives.

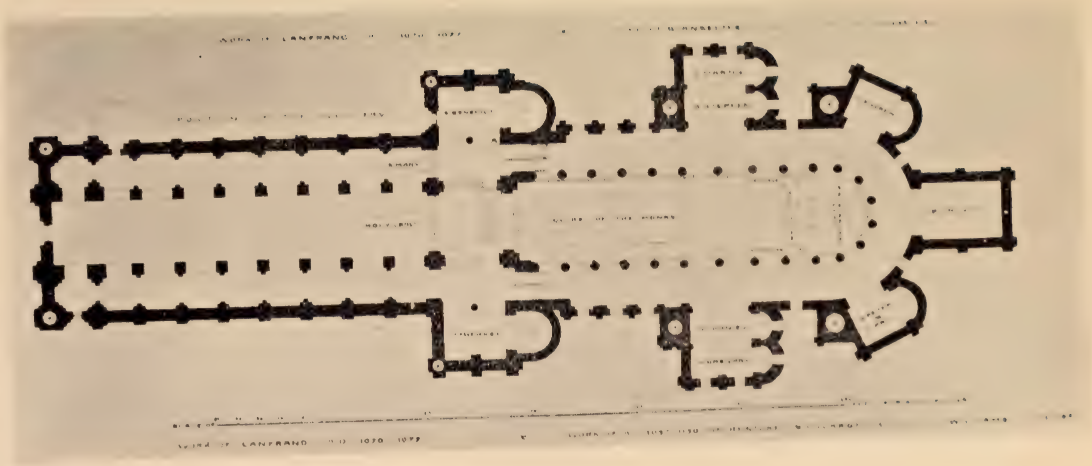
[2] "Cum numerosa clericorum, necne immensa laicorum diversi sexus et aetatis multitudine." Eadmer, *ut supra.*

However this may have been, it is certain the enlargement of the eastern limb of the church was not long delayed. Although the Archbishop was unable to take any personal share in the work, since the greater part of his primacy was spent in exile, it was commenced under his auspices, and chiefly by his efforts the necessary funds were raised. Thus the moiety of offerings made at the high altar to which, by an ordinance of Lanfranc, the Archbishop was entitled was handed over by Anselm to the Prior and Chapter for the new choir. To the same purpose he devoted the rents and profits of the rich manor of Peckham. This, however, had rather the nature of a mortgage than a gift, since the transaction was entered into in return for a loan of £100 which the Archbishop had borrowed in order to meet the King's demand for a loan to finance Duke Robert's expedition to the Holy Land. The bargain, at any rate, proved a very good one for the monks, who set aside the profits for the new work. Further, Eadmer informs us that Anselm (doubtless conscious of his limitations as a man of business) wisely refrained from all interference in the management of the conventual estates, a course which, according to the same authority, greatly strengthened the financial position of the monastery.

The convent was fortunate at this juncture in possessing in their Prior a man who could supply the practical qualities which the Archbishop lacked. Ernulf, who succeeded to the priorate in 1096, had entered the religious life as a monk of St. Lucien in Beauvais; later he had become a pupil of Lanfranc at Bec, and when the latter was elected to the primacy of the English Church he was invited by his master to accompany him to England, where he became an inmate of the priory of Christ Church, Canterbury. It is not unlikely that Ernulf's ability as an architect was known to Lanfranc, whose invitation may have been prompted by the desire to employ him on his new cathedral church. If so, his previous experience would at once suggest his name in connection with the superintendence of the new choir. That Ernulf was the actual designer and not merely the supervisor of the work is abundantly clear from a comparison of Canterbury work with that of other buildings attributed to him elsewhere. He became Abbot of Peterborough in 1107 and Bishop of Rochester seven years later, and at both places certain well-defined characteristics are found which point to the conclusion that the buildings were the product of one and the same mind.

The new choir was laid out by Ernulf on a scale calculated practically to double the area of the church. Instead of the two bays which comprised the eastward extension of Lanfranc's church, the new work was carried forward five bays to a secondary or eastern transept, the entrances to which, however (in this the earliest instance of the introduction of this feature), were masked by the main arcade being carried across them, so that the transepts formed separate chapels.

Beyond the eastern wall of the secondary transept the main arcade extended for two bays further in a straight line and then was carried by six more piers round the ambulatory of the apse. Radiating from the outer wall of the eastern apse, Ernulf built two towers having apsidal terminations towards the east and stair-turrets at the western ends, doubtless a reminiscence of the flanking towers of the Roman-Saxon



PLAN OF ST. ANSELM'S CHURCH
BEFORE THE FIRE OF 1174

Ernulf's Crypt

church; that on the north was dedicated in honour of St. Andrew and that on the south of SS. Peter and Paul. At the extreme eastern end a rectangular chapel dedicated to the Holy Trinity was erected, the entrance to which was through an arch in the apse. This was a prodigious extension, the entire length from the eastern tower piers being about one hundred and ninety-eight feet. At the same time the choir was widened by setting back the alignment of the central alley on either side four feet, so that the arches were now made to spring, not from the centre of the great tower piers, but from a short wall built against the outer edges of the said piers. In order to preserve the width of the aisles their outer walls were set back a corresponding distance, with the exception that a short length of Lanfranc's work was retained at the western end of the aisles in order to preserve the staircases leading to the chapels in the galleries of the great western transept.

The whole of the superstructure was raised upon a lofty crypt, which in its western portion remains to-day much as Ernulf left it, though in the choir above little of his handiwork remains. The crypt of Canterbury—which is remarkable for its vast size, the bold span of its vaults, and the grotesque carvings of its pier capitals—must (with the exception of the latter ornamentation, which was added probably some fifty or sixty years later) have been finished by the end of the eleventh century, if we give credit to the statement of William of Malmsbury that Ernulf had roofed in the choir and adorned it with paintings before he was preferred to the Abbacy of Peterborough in 1107.[1] But the great choir was by no means complete even at the latter date, for much remained to be done in the way of internal decoration, and another twenty-three years elapsed before it was adjudged to be ready for dedication.

[1] *Gesta Pontificum*, R.S., p. 234.

The same year which witnessed Ernulf's departure from Canterbury brought back Anselm, whose feud with the King was at length healed. But the Archbishop was now a dying man. For two years he attended the daily celebration of the divine mysteries in the nave of his cathedral church, the choir being still unfinished, and doubtless watched with interest the progress of the new work inaugurated by himself eleven or twelve years earlier. At length, on the Tuesday of Holy Week in the year 1109, he was on his death-bed. Eadmer's pathetic description of the last hours of the saintly prelate is of exquisite simplicity, and is worth quoting here at length :

> The brethren [he tells us] were already chanting matins in the great church. One of those who watched our father took the book of the Gospels and read aloud the history of the Passion which was to be read that day at Mass. When he came to the Lord's words, " I appoint unto you a Kingdom, as My Father hath appointed unto Me, that ye may eat and drink at My table," he began to breathe more slowly, and we saw that he was passing ; so he was lifted from his bed and laid upon sackcloth sprinkled with ashes. And the whole family of his children being gathered round him, he slept in peace.

Thus passed away the greatest bishop of his age, one of the profoundest mediæval thinkers and theologians, who was also one of the most saintly of the long line of archbishops of Canterbury.[1]

Anselm's body was laid by the remains of his friend and master Lanfranc before the great Rood in the nave until the new choir was finished, when his body was translated to the neighbourhood of the altar of SS. Peter and Paul in the tower on the south side of the church, which has since been called by his name. By men of his own day and by later generations his name became the object of increasing veneration, and Dante in his vision of Paradise saw him among the spirits of light in the sphere of the sun. Yet, strange

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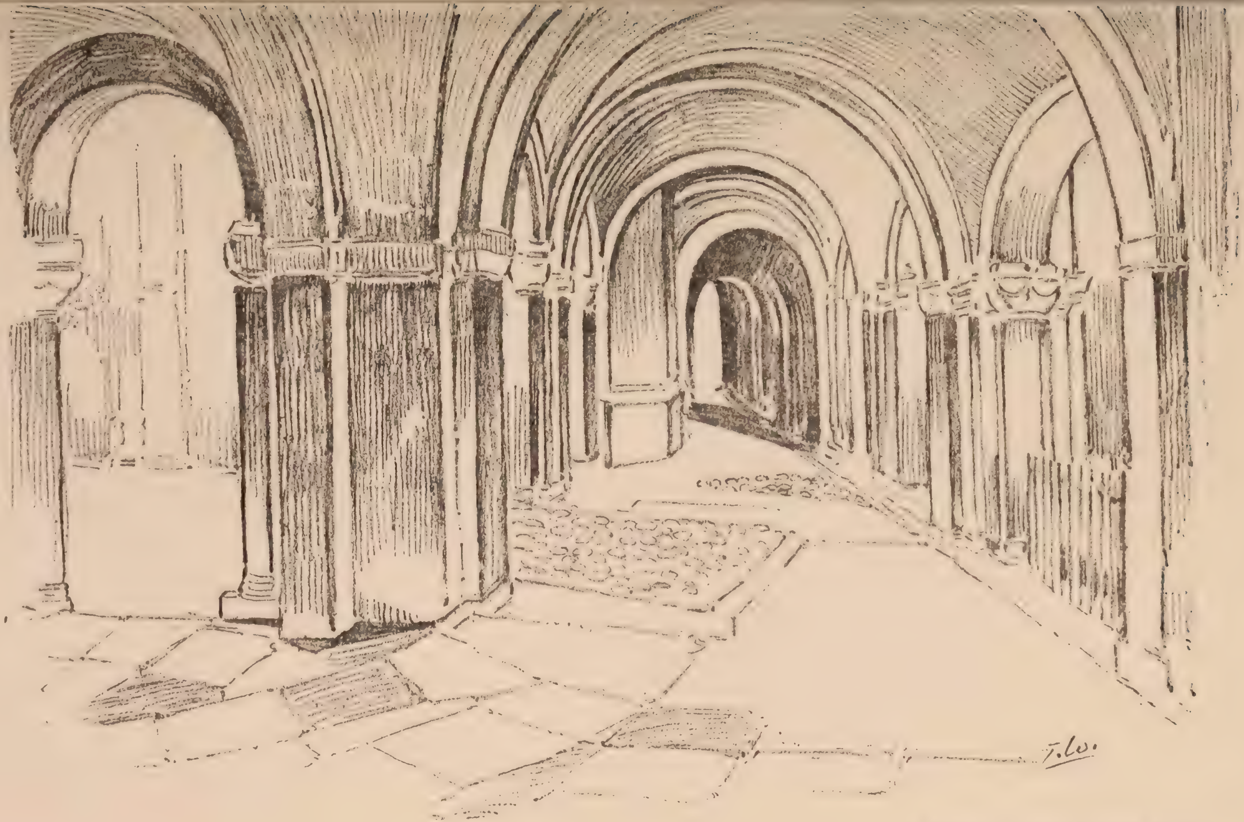
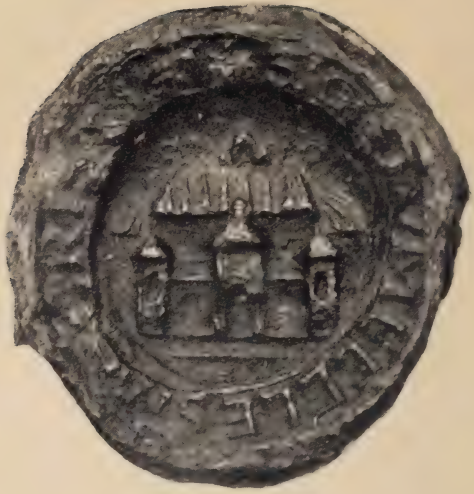
[1] Eadmer, R.S., *ut supra*, p. 417 ; and Dr. Spence, " The Church of England," vol. ii. p. 168.



Ernulf's Crypt (South Aisle)



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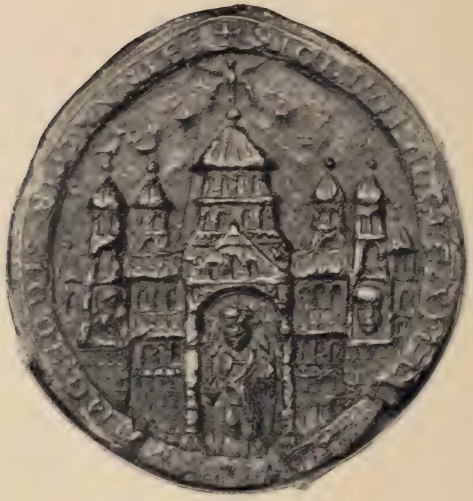

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SEALS OF THE PRIOR AND CONVENT OF CHRIST CHURCH
(1) The Earliest Seal
Legend—Sigillum : Ecclesie : Christi
(2) The Second Seal (*c.* 1130)
Legend—Sigillum : Ecclie : Xpi Cantuarie :
Prime Sedis Britannie

to say, his formal canonisation by Rome was long delayed, and by the strange irony of fate was at length granted towards the close of the fifteenth century by Roderic Borgia, the flagrantly wicked Pope known as Alexander VI.

Of St. Anselm's tomb, or shrine, no vestige now remains, but entries in the sacrist's accounts show that during the Middle Ages pilgrimages and offerings were occasionally made at it.[1] And for this reason it doubtless shared the fate of the shrine of St. Thomas, though no record of its destruction appears to be extant.

After the departure of Prior Ernulf for Peterborough the decoration of the interior of the choir was continued by his successor, Prior Conrad, who not only covered its walls with frescoes and filled its windows with stained glass, but provided several notable ornaments and vestments for the church and its ministers. Of these perhaps the most noteworthy were a great seven-branched *candelabrum* of brass and a very valuable cope of cloth of gold, richly jewelled, with a fringe round its lower edge of no less than one hundred and forty little bells of silver-gilt: both, by the way, remarkable examples of the Judaising tendencies of the Western Church at this period.

According to Matthew Paris, some service of dedication took place in Canterbury Cathedral in the year 1114. Possibly the crypt may have been consecrated at this time, but Paris is the sole authority for the statement, and Gervase says clearly that the new choir was not dedicated until May 4, 1130.

The ceremony was performed by Archbishop William Corboil in the presence of King Henry I. of England,

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[1] *E.g.* in 1425 the Crown Prince of Portugal made an offering "ad altare Anselmi per serenissimum principem filium regis Portugaliae iij^s." In a list of the relics of the church drawn up by Prior Eastry in 1315 the *reliquiæ* of St. Anselm are entered sixth in a list of the twelve greater relics.

David King of Scotland, eight bishops of the southern province, three of foreign sees, and a vast assemblage of clerks and lay-folk.[1] "So famous a dedication," says Gervase, "has never been heard of on earth since the dedication of the temple of Solomon."

The choir which had been so long in building and at length was dedicated with so much pomp was to have but a brief life. Thirty-four years after the dedication ceremony it was destroyed by fire. But although little remains of Anselm's choir to-day, Gervase, who was an inmate of the priory at the time of the disaster, has left us a particular description of it, and indeed of the whole church. From this source we learn that the great Rood had now been moved from the position it had occupied in Lanfranc's time near the centre of the nave, and placed over a screen between the western piers of the central tower. This screen, which was placed upon the platform beneath the tower, was approached from the nave by an ascent of several steps. In the centre of its western side, beneath the Rood, was the people's altar, on either side of which was a doorway. From the platform a further ascent of steps led up to a second screen under the eastern piers of the tower, through which the choir was entered by a central doorway. At the time of its erection this central entrance appears to have been without a door, since by one of Archbishop Winchelsey's statutes (issued in 1298) it was ordered that for greater security a strong wooden doorway of good design, *ostium pulchre et forte ligneum*, should be constructed at the western entrance of the choir, which door was to be kept locked to prevent approach to the upper part of the church except at stated times.[2]

The ritual choir, in the midst of which hung a gilded corona carrying four-and-twenty wax lights, was separated from the aisles by a low wall " built of marble slabs, against which were placed the stalls of the monks, arranged in a double row on either side and extending as far as the western side of the eastern transept, at which line there was an ascent of three steps to the presbytery. From the pavement of the presbytery a further rise of three steps led up to the high altar dedicated in the name of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and to the altars and shrines of St. Alphege and St. Dunstan, placed respectively north and south of the high altar. Behind the high altar, and resting upon the capitals of the two pillars from which the curve of the apse commenced and upon two wooden columns " gracefully ornamented with gold and silver," was a great gilded beam which sustained " a representation of our Lord in Majesty " and images of St. Dunstan and St. Alphege, together with seven shrines covered with gold and silver and filled with the relics of divers saints. Beneath this beam, and between the wooden columns already mentioned, stood a gilded cross placed within a circle of sixty transparent crystals.

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[1] *Chron. Flor. Wigorn.*, Eng. Hist. Society, vol. ii. p. 91.

[2] The door was guarded by an official known as the *Ostiarius Chori.*

A few paces eastward a further flight of steps led up to the patriarchal throne, " formed out of a single stone." It is worthy of remark that throughout all the alterations to which every other piece of furniture in the church was subjected during the next seven hundred years, the patriarchal seat retained its primitive position ; and it is a matter for profound regret that a tradition which had been handed down from the times of the Christian basilica was broken in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, when the chair was removed to the south-east transept. It has since been placed in the corona.

The thirty years which followed the dedication of the choir were troublous times for the monks of Christ Church as well as for the people of England generally, for during the weak rule of King Stephen the country was practically in a state of anarchy. Hence the period was unfavourable for building operations, and we read of no further additions to the metropolitical church or to the conventual buildings for some time. Archbishop Theobald, who succeeded to the primacy on the death of William Corboil in 1139, was in the earlier years of his archiepiscopate a supporter of the cause of King Stephen, whom he crowned together with Queen Matilda in Canterbury Cathedral on Christmas Day in the year 1142. A curious incident in the ceremony is mentioned by Gervase, which is worth mentioning as evidence of the great jealousy which existed between the secular clergy and the monks. The two parties seem to have formed two separate choirs of singers on this occasion. And Gervase relates that the clerks during the singing of the hymn *Christus Vincit* quickened the time in order that they might end before the monks, and thus receive the archiepiscopal blessing while the latter were still singing. But, adds the chronicler,

> they received a curse instead of a blessing, for they were excommunicated by the Archbishop. Nor would they have received absolution if the King had not interceded for them after Mass was over. Whereas the monks who sang devoutly and with measured cadence (*morose*) received God's favour, the Archbishop's blessing, and the King's praise.[1]

At a later period Theobald—owing to the encroachments made by Henry of Blois, the King's brother and Papal legate, on the prerogatives of the church of Canterbury—went over to the Angevin side, and was in consequence banished from the country. When at length he was able to return to his see the Archbishop found the finances of the priory at a low ebb and discipline much relaxed. He dealt with the latter point in a summary and successful fashion, but the struggle which ensued is of importance as marking the beginning of those strained relationships between the monks and the archbishops which, with but few intermissions, lasted for the next hundred and fifty years.

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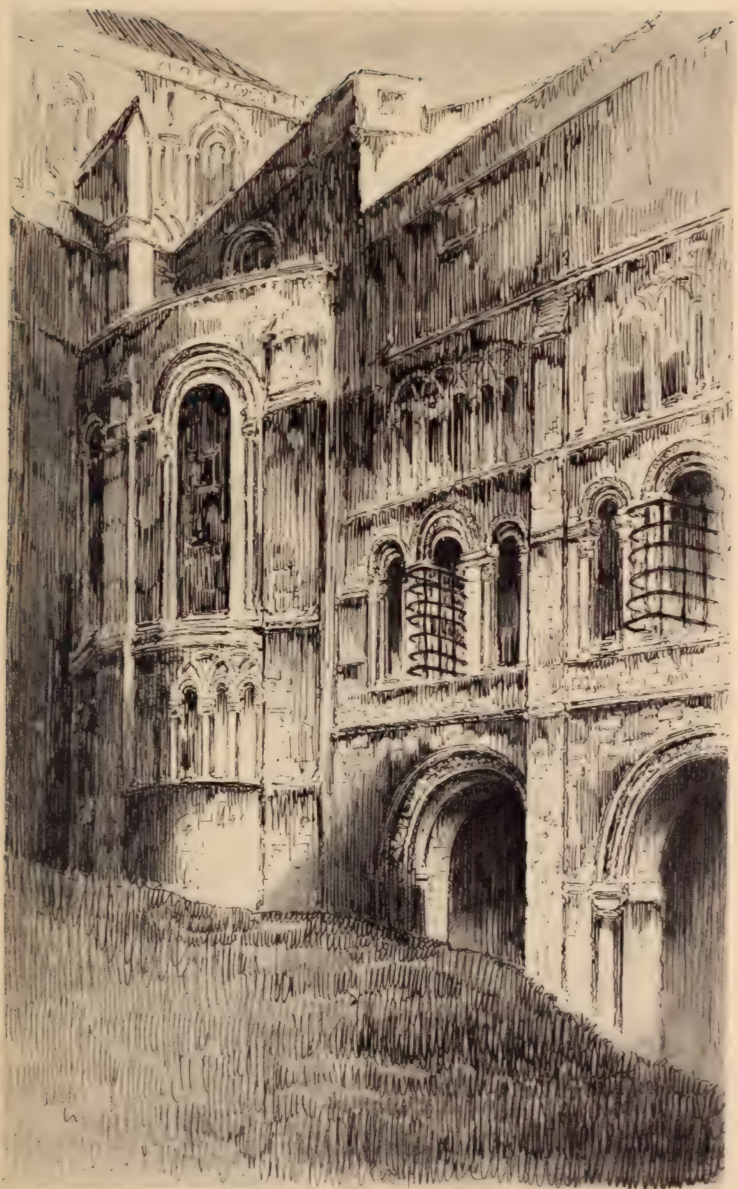
[1] Gervase, *Op. Hist.*, R.S., vol. i. p. 527.

The financial depression was no doubt partly due to the troublous times through which the convent had recently passed, but it was also caused by a too lavish expenditure upon hospitality and on the monastic table. By the year 1152 matters had become so bad that the Prior and Chapter offered to hand over to the Archbishop the management of their estates. He was by no means anxious to undertake the responsibility, but at length consented to do so. Theobald's economic reforms, however, were not received with favour. The monks complained that his retrenchments were on such a drastic scale that their house was in danger of losing its world-famed reputation for hospitality, and that the fare served out in the *frater* was so meagre that they were half-starved. If we may take the description given by Gerald de Barri (which, however, was written some years later) as a fair sample of the monastic *menu*, there was considerable room for reform in this direction before the starvation-point would be reached. For the gossiping Welshman relates that when he dined at Christ Church no less than sixteen dishes of highly spiced meats were served up at the Prior's table. The occasion, however, was a special one, and the fare, of course, cannot be taken as a fair specimen of the monastic dietary. Still, even in the *frater* there was room probably for the exercise of greater economy; at any rate, Theobald seems to have thought so, for he paid no regard to the complaints which assailed him. At length the monks became so incensed with what they regarded as his penurious conduct that they lodged an appeal against him in the Roman Curia. But Theobald was not the man to be coerced; he disregarded the appeal altogether and clapped the ringleaders of the movement into prison. Walter Parvus, the Prior, was removed from his office and sent off to Gloucester Abbey, to be kept in durance during the Archbishop's pleasure. Theobald was thus left free to carry out his reforms, and so well did he succeed that before long money was again available for the fabric of the church. During the next fourteen years, which comprise the priorate of Wibert, who succeeded the deposed Walter Parvus in 1151, many important additions were made both to the church and to the monastic buildings. To this period belongs the ornamentation of the shafts and capitals of the pillars in the crypt. The carving is applied alternately to shaft and capital, a plain shaft being adorned with a carved capital and *vice versa.* In their character and groupings the grotesque figures on the capitals resemble those in illuminated manuscripts of the second half of the twelfth century, and exhibit a wonderful fertility of imagination on the part of the sculptor. The mural paintings in the apse of the chapel of St. Gabriel beneath the tower now known as St. Anselm's, and the very remarkable figure of St. Paul in the chapel above, were executed probably a little later.

A more important addition to the church was the erection of the *Vestiarium,* since called the Treasury, a finely proportioned room abutting upon the north wall of the tower or chapel of St. Andrew. The chamber, which is 20 ft. high and measures 24 ft. from east to west and 22 ft. from north to south, stands upon a substructure supported by round Norman arches of late character ; from the piers (the capitals of which are all carved) spring the ribbed groynes of the vaults, of which feature this is the earliest instance at Canterbury. The external walls of the chamber above are ornamented with a belt of arcading, which at first sight closely resembles that which is carried round the walls of Ernulf's choir, but is distinguishable from the earlier work by the employment of small compound piers formed of a pilaster, with a small



THE TREASURY

shaft and capital on each side instead of a single shaft as in the Ernulfian work.[1] The internal roof is a high domical vault supported by diagonal ribbed groyning. The chamber over the treasury was not added until about one hundred and thirty years later. The grooves of the original high-pitched roof may still be seen in the north wall of St. Andrew's Chapel.

The primary purpose of the *Vestiarium* was, of course, to serve as a place of safe depository for the precious vestments, jewels, and ornaments, of which the church possessed an ever-increasing store. Hence the windows are protected with strong iron bars. Here, too, in presses and aumbries, were kept the muniments of the church, and in an iron-bound coffer (which still remains) a sum of ready money sufficient to meet any sudden emergency.[2]

Wibert's additions to the monastic buildings were so numerous that they can only be briefly enumerated here, though the remains of them which are still extant will be described more particularly on a later page. They comprised the infirmary chapel; the inner gate of the cemetery; the pentise gate (now incorporated in the house of the Archdeacon of Canterbury); the Green Court gateway; and the great North Hall contiguous to it, of which almost the sole memorial is the beautiful and unique Norman staircase, which projected from its eastern side and fortunately has escaped destruction. But chief amongst the good works of Prior Wibert must be reckoned the elaborate hydraulic system, whereby the convent was supplied with pure water from springs issuing from the rising ground to the north-east of the cathedral.[3]

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[1] Willis, *ut supra*, p. 75.

[2] In post-Reformation times the chest in the treasury was always supposed to contain £300 in gold. No money is kept in the treasury at the present time.

[3] (1167), "obiit bonae memoriae Wibertus Prior. Hic inter multa bona opera quae fecit isti ecclesiae aqueductum cum stagnis et lavatoriis et piscinis suis fieri fecit, quam aquam fere milario ab urbe intra curiam,

The original grant by Archbishop Theobald to the Prior and Chapter of one acre of land at a place called Horsfelde—*ubi fontes erupuerunt et defluerunusque ad stagna*—is still preserved amongst the cathedral archives.[1] It is undated, but from the names of the witnesses it was probably made about the year 1160. But a far more important piece of contemporary evidence of the water-supply inaugurated by Prior Wibert is contained in two Norman drawings inserted in a great Psalter preserved in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge. The book, which was apparently written in the *scriptorium* of Christ Church, Canterbury, contains within its covers two most remarkable drawings, which in the opinion of the late Professor Willis were executed by Wibert or his assistants to record his system of water distribution and drainage.[2]

Willis has reproduced these drawings in his history of the conventual buildings, where he gives also a detailed account of the whole system. From springs situated in the "North Holmes" the water was first conveyed by a pipe to a circular conduit-house and then to the city wall, passing in succession through five settling-tanks. In its course the aqueduct was carried across an orchard belonging to the Black Canons of St. Gregory's Priory, whose inmates were allowed the use of a cock or branch from the Christ Church main. In return for this convenience the Canons were wont every year, in the month of September, to send their gardener with a basket of their best apples as a present to the monks of Christ Church.

The pipe entered the precincts near the north-eastern corner of the court—being carried across the city moat by a bridge—and then proceeded under-

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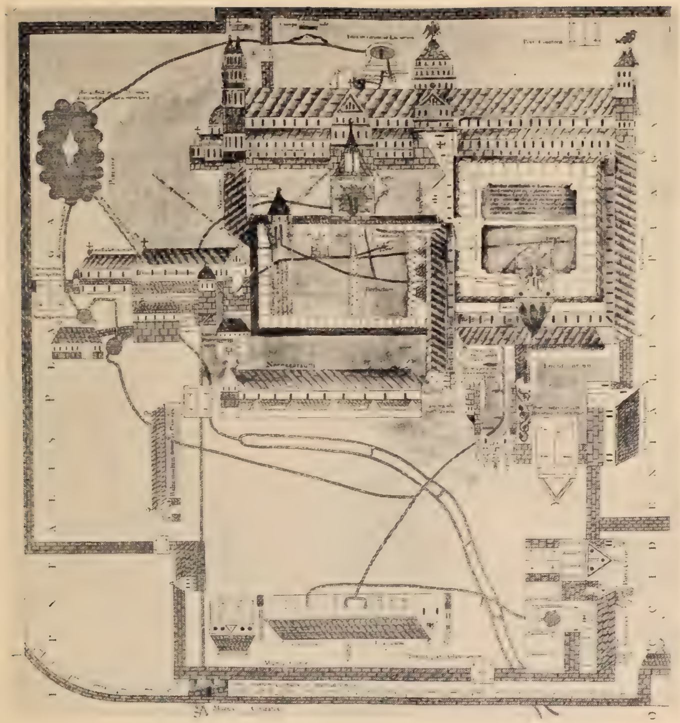
et sic per omnes ipsius curiae officinas, mirabiliter transduxit." *Registrum sive martyrologium Xpi Cantuariae*, Arundel MSS. fol. 41a, quoted by Somner in his "Antiquities of Canterbury."

[1] Ch. Ch. Cant. MS., W. 224.

[2] "The Conventual Buildings of the Monastery of Christ Church; Canterbury," *op cit.* p. 175.



THE NORMAN DRAWING OF THE CATHEDRAL AND CONVENTUAL BUILDINGS (*c.* 1164)

Showing Prior Wibert's Waterworks

ground, beneath the prior's gateway and the infirmary kitchen to a circular water-tower built against the

The Green-Court Gateway

south alley of the infirmary cloister. This tower, which still remains, is of two stories. The lower one retains its Norman arches and early rib-vaulting, which springs from a large hollow central pillar through which the water was conveyed to a cistern or laver in the chamber above, at which the monks could perform their ablutions on their way from the dormitory to the choir. The upper story of this water-tower was rebuilt when Thomas Chillenden was prior (1391–1411), and from the fact that the font was placed here in 1786 the tower was for many years known as the "Baptistery," but late in the last century the font was removed to the nave.

From the cistern in the tower the water was conveyed to another laver in the great cloister, where the Norman drawing shows an octofoil basin opposite the doorway of the *frater*. When the cloister was rebuilt by Chillenden this octofoil basin gave place to two oblong troughs, occupying two bays of the outer arcade. The position of these lavers is at once fixed by the absence of any mullions in the two bays which once contained them. The distribution of the water from this central position need not here be described in detail; suffice it to say that the system extended to all the conventual buildings on the north side of the church, as well as to a conduit on the south side, for the convenience of the lay-folk, the waste ultimately finding an outlet in a fish-pond in the convent garden (now the "Oaks"). Nor was Wibert content with thus introducing an excellent supply of pure water into the monastic precincts, for at the same time he constructed an elaborate system of sewers by means of which the rain-water from the roof of the great church was utilised for flushing the main drain before finding its exit into the city ditch. The sanitary value of this hydraulic system cannot be overstated, since to its adoption may be ascribed the general good health of the monks of Christ Church, even during those periods of epidemic sickness which during the Middle

Substructure of Water Tower

Ages repeatedly decimated the inmates of other religious houses.

In the fifteenth century certain alterations and improvements were made in the drainage system, but Wibert's work was never superseded, and in part exists even at the present day. A change, however, in the source from which the water was drawn was made soon after the dissolution of the monastery, for the following reason. The old springs at Horsfelde lay within the King's park, and it was found that the water was fouled by the deer. In order, therefore, to give the Dean and Canons of his new foundation a pure supply, Henry VIII, by his charter of 1546, granted to Christ Church the watercourse or aqueduct which had previously supplied the dissolved monastery of St. Austin.[1] From this latter source the houses in the precincts have been supplied with water until quite recent times, and although most of them are now connected with the city waterworks, the ancient supply is still available in times of emergency.

Whilst Prior Wibert was carrying out these practical sanitary reforms, Archbishop Theobald was engaged in reviving the schools of general learning founded more than five centuries earlier by Archbishop Theodore. In the second half of the twelfth century Canterbury again became recognised as a place of higher education, or *studium generale*, to which scholars were attracted from all parts of England. Amongst them was John of Salisbury, reckoned the most learned man of his day, and Vacarius, who was invited to England by Theobald to deliver lectures in Roman law. But the most interesting figure amongst the scholars of the archbishop's school is that of Thomas

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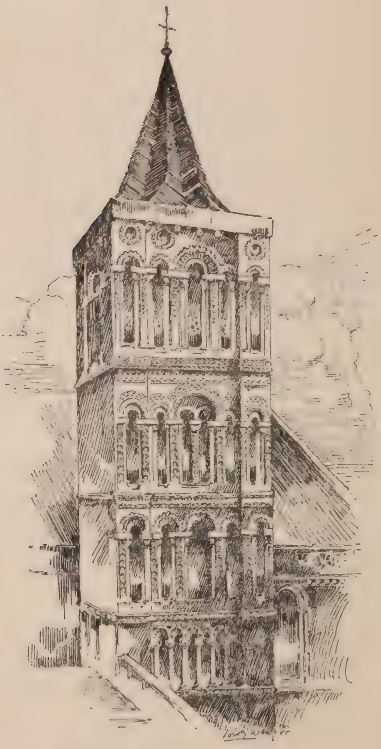
[1] This forms one of the clauses of the Exchange Charter of the 37th Henry VIII. The old watercourse is said to be " now of late, by occasion of the deer coming and soiling in and near the same water, so corrupted that persons of the said cathedral cannot without danger of sickness continue and keep hospitality within the site of the said cathedral and metropolitical church."

Becket, the young Archdeacon of Canterbury, whose handsome face, commanding stature, and winning personality were already giving him an influence over all sorts and conditions of men : a *persona grata* to King and monk alike, but as yet giving no indication of special sanctity of life or of that unflinching Churchmanship which he was destined to vindicate with his death. But for Becket and that great tragedy which made him the foremost saint in England for nearly three centuries a special chapter must be reserved.

C. E. W.

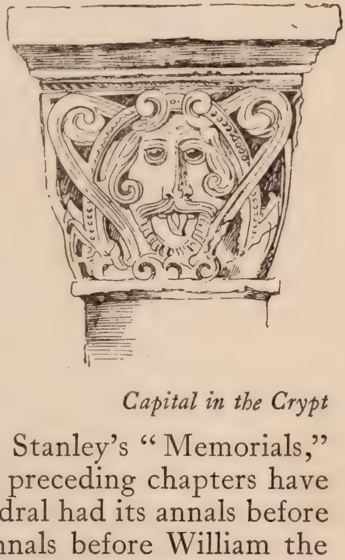


Transept Tower

CHAPTER IV

ST. THOMAS OF CANTERBURY

"Of few characters in all history," says Archdeacon Hutton in his "Life of Becket," "is the life-story better known. At least ten contemporary biographies are extant, and it would be easy to increase that number if we counted the fragments of original information in other writings of the age. Besides this we have an almost unique collection of letters relating to Becket, written by himself, his friends, and his enemies."



Capital in the Crypt

Our use of this copious material must be brief and slight, and the reader may fill in our outline from the pages of Archdeacon Hutton, Stanley's "Memorials," and Tennyson's drama. The preceding chapters have shown that Canterbury Cathedral had its annals before Becket, as England had its annals before William the Conqueror. But in each case the man so turned the stream of history that he must be reckoned with by any one who would trace and understand the subsequent course of events.

Thomas Becket was born in Cheapside, London, about the year 1118, and always described himself as Thomas of London. His parents were Normans who had settled in that city: the father a successful merchant, and the mother a lady said to have been both good and beautiful, and not without dreams that her son should in some special way be dedicated to the service of God.

We have already noticed that as a young man he was sent for training to Canterbury, where Archbishop Theobald loved to gather round him men of learning, wit, and character, whether as scholars or as teachers. "It was a school not only of literature and ecclesiastical learning but also of politics, where the interests of Henry of Anjou and of the Angevin succession were always kept in mind, and where by Thomas himself, it is said, the plan of Stephen to crown Eustace, his son, in 1152 was foiled by the refusal of Theobald."[1]

The Primate quickly discerned in his pupil both power and promise, sent him to study in the famous law-schools of France and Italy, made him Archdeacon of Canterbury, and recommended him to the young King Henry II as one of his secretaries. Henry, like Theobald, fell under the spell of his attraction, for there was undoubtedly something winning as well as able about Becket, adopted him as a close personal friend, and in no long time made him his Chancellor, an office second only to that of Justiciar. Theobald died in April 1161, and on June 3, 1162, at the King's wish, but not without hesitation, misgiving, and premonition of trouble,[2] Becket was consecrated as Primate. It may be said that on that day began the rift which ended in such dire tragedy. For there was in the character of the new Archbishop a singular, perhaps a morbid, strain of thoroughness and loyalty; he was a born partisan. While he was the "King's man" he served the King with all his heart; when he became "the Church's man" or "the Pope's man" his duty to the King took the second place.

It would be a grave mistake to regard Becket as a mere monkish pietist, or ascetic person, though he was capable of mortifying the flesh to almost any degree. He never formally took the cowl, and remained in deacon's orders till his appointment to the See of Canterbury. He loved sport and fine raiment and splendid surroundings. In the service of the King he was not only a considerable statesman but a daring, relentless, and efficient soldier, the hero of many exploits in the French wars, overthrowing with his own hand a knight renowned in arms. He is described as of great height and bodily strength, with a long but handsome face of the aquiline type, a high, narrow forehead, and observant, penetrating eyes. Impetuous, headstrong, when roused not incapable of fury and of the violent language less uncommon in high places then than now, yet often able by force of will to attain severe self-restraint ; habitually courteous and of free and sympathetic talk ; inspiring great attachments and bitter hatreds ; generous and obstinate ; a fighter rather than a diplomatist ; of a deeply religious nature, which smouldered in him as Chancellor and leapt into flame in him as Archbishop—such was the complex personality of the hero of our Canterbury tale.

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[1] Hutton's "Becket," p. 10.

[2] Robertson's "Becket," p. 38.

In a monastic cathedral the bishop was the titular abbot, and the monks contended that the head of a monastery should be himself a monk. There was at least one bishop—Folliot of Hereford, learned, able, austere, somewhat bitter, neither an eater of meat nor a drinker of wine—who denounced the Chancellor as of worldly mind, no friend of the Church. It is curious to note that Folliot, though himself a "regular" or one of the monastic clergy, ranged himself against Becket throughout the ensuing struggle, and was to the end one of his most dangerous enemies ; while Becket from the first foresaw in the very strictness of his conception of the Church's rights the probable wreck of his friendship with the King. In the end, however, the choice was unanimous and accepted ; the consecration took place on the octave of

Whit-Sunday, June 3, 1162, and the new Archbishop immediately afterwards said his first mass in the chapel of the Blessed Trinity, which henceforth became his favourite resort for prayer and meditation whenever he was at Canterbury. This chapel must, of course, not be confused with the present Trinity Chapel, built after the fire. It was an oblong projection from the extreme east of the apse of Ernulf's choir, above the spot where for fifty years (1170–1220) Becket's body lay in the crypt. Though the chapel has vanished, the famous Mass of 1162 has left a permanent memory in the calendar of the Church; for Thomas himself instituted the festival of the Holy Trinity to be observed on the anniversary, and the octave of Whit-Sunday has now become Trinity Sunday throughout the whole Western Church.

Gilbert Folliot became afterwards, by Becket's generous persuasion, Bishop of London, but he never lost the spirit of his sardonic comment on the new Primate's consecration. He said, more truly than he knew, that "the King had worked a miracle in having that day turned a layman into an archbishop, and a soldier into a saint." Whatever inconsistencies may be laid to his charge, there is no doubt of the sincerity of Becket's devotion to his new office, of his care for the seemly performance of all sacred duties, of the disinterestedness of his aims, nor of the purity and severity of his life. The first cause of difference with the King was his resolve to resign the Chancellorship as a worldly hindrance to higher work. If he was not a monk in name, he forthwith became a monk in asceticism, and after death it was found that he wore the monastic habit beneath his episcopal robes.

It is not for us to follow, except very briefly, the phases of the growing quarrel. On November 2, 1164, he fled into an exile which was to be unbroken for six years, when he returned to his country and his doom on December 1, 1170. It had been for him a bitter time of "eating bread and salt and going up and down other people's stairs." He never ceased to govern his diocese and province and to admonish his monastery, though six out of the eight and a half years of his primacy were spent in banishment.

It is perhaps due to the reader that some sketch should be given of the causes which led to the estrangement between Thomas of Canterbury and Henry II.

The Conqueror had made considerable changes in the condition of the clergy. He established the clerical courts as separate from the ordinary jurisdiction, but he maintained for himself a supremacy over the whole Church system as complete as that afterwards asserted by Henry VIII, and refused to do fealty to Pope Gregory VII. In this independence Lanfranc shared. But in the next generation the conflict began between the royal and the clerical authority, and culminated in the dispute in which Becket fell, yet triumphed. The dispute, in the days of Anselm, with William Rufus and Henry I was on the subject of the investitures; from whom should the Archbishop receive the pall, the ring, the pastoral staff? It was compromised by Anselm himself taking the pall which had been laid upon the altar, and by his receiving the pastoral staff from the Pope, while he swore allegiance to the King. The strife of Becket with Henry II was on the far greater matter of the immunity of the clergy from the King's jurisdiction. The extreme clerical contention was derived largely from the False Decretals, which, having sprung up in the ninth century, had been incorporated into the great body of the Canon Law called the *Decretum* of Gratian. Of this Becket had been a diligent student at Bologna, and afterwards during his banishment at Pontigny it was constantly in his hand. It gave the most extreme power to the Pope as against kings; and since the Decretals were supposed to have the sanction of apostles and fathers of the Church, Becket, as a conscientious Churchman, felt bound to assert the rights which they gave. The clergy were a separate race ; they must not be subject to the law of common men ; if they committed crimes, they must be judged by their own law in their own courts ; and any one who was attached, even as a servant of a convent, to the sacred order must be similarly entitled to the " benefit of clergy."

The King, on the other hand, was equally strong in the conviction that he was placed at the head of the nation to enforce order and justice, and that he held the divine sanction for this ; while the Pope's authority was an invention of men. In arguing for the power which he claimed over Battle Abbey against the Bishop of Chichester, who asserted the jurisdiction of the Pope, he used these remarkable words : " You, on behalf of the Pope's authority which is given him by men, fancy that you can strive with your clever subtleness against the authority of the royal power which has been given me by God."

Becket, though he assented to the Constitutions of Clarendon, which determined what causes should be tried in the bishops' and what in the King's courts, and were of the nature of a compromise, yet recalled his assent at the Council of Northampton, and left the country without the King's leave.

The bishops and clergy of England were divided in their sympathies. As Englishmen they held with the King ; but the separate interests of their order were strong, while the language of the Decretals and the power of the Pope were against the King. The people were on Becket's side, since they felt the harshness of the King's rule, and hated the cruel fines and brutal mutilations of the secular courts. This accounts largely for the widespread and passionate devotion to Becket's memory. He was regarded as a champion against royal and feudal oppression.

Peace was made at last at Fretteville, in Normandy. The King and Primate agreed, so it seemed, to forgive and forget; the King held the Archbishop's bridle and stirrup as he mounted his horse, and received his blessing, and Becket returned to England. Alas! another cause of quarrel had already arisen which concerned the dignity of his see and involved a matter of discipline.

The King had resolved that, on account of his frequent absences abroad, his eldest son Henry should be made king, to assist him during his lifetime; and Becket being an exile, Roger, Archbishop of York, was called in to officiate at the coronation, assisted by Folliot, Bishop of London, and Jocelyn, Bishop of Salisbury. This was a violation of the privileges of the See of Canterbury, the occupant of which had always officiated.

The question had been tried at the coronation of Henry I, when the Archbishop of York's claim had been disallowed and his cross-bearer turned out of the chapel. Becket was deeply incensed, and, perhaps characteristically, took immediate and extreme measures to redress the breach of discipline. He procured from the Pope a suspension of the Archbishop of York and an excommunication of the two other bishops, but reserved to his own discretion the moment at which these documents should be promulgated.

The moment he chose was unfortunate for himself and for the peace of the Church. He had the excommunication with him at his interview with the King, and obtained from him a general assent to the exercise of discipline; but nothing was known of the matter until Becket's landing in England early in December. Then he immediately sent the documents to the three prelates, who were at Dover, and the whole quarrel was again ablaze. They went straight to the King at the castle of Bur, near Bayeux, and their news threw him into one of those paroxysms of rage to which he and others of his race were subject, and which were not quite unreasonably looked upon as temporary possession by a devil. He foamed at the mouth, and in his frenzy cursed his court for a nest of cowards, not one of whom would rid him of this low-born priest.

On this, the four knights, Reginald Fitzurse, Hugh de Moreville, William de Tracy, and Richard le Breton, determined to enforce what they believed to be the King's will. They moved so quickly that messengers sent to stay their hands were too late. They arrived by different roads at Saltwood Castle, which, though belonging to the Archbishop, had during his exile been given to his mortal enemy, Randolph de Broc. This man had done everything to thwart and insult the Archbishop, and with others had destroyed a cargo of wine on its way, and had cut off the tails of his horse and sumpter-mule. The knights held a conference in the darkness, and early in the morning of December 29, 1170, rode with a few retainers along Stone Street, the old Roman road from Lymne to Canterbury.

The Archbishop, to whom we must now return, was not unaware of his danger; but he was daring, and full of faith in his cause. At Canterbury he met with a more than royal welcome. He "was received in solemn procession. The church resounded with hymns and music, the hall with rejoicing, the city everywhere with fullness of joy."[1] He went through the streets barefoot to the cathedral. In the choir he gave every monk the kiss of peace. He preached in the chapter-house on "Here we have no continuing city, but we seek one to come." As of old, he attended the religious offices and sat in his court as judge. Come what might, he would nevermore be parted from his church. At midnight on Christmas Eve he celebrated high mass, and again on Christmas morning, when he preached on the words rendered

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[1] William Fitzstephen, "Materials," iii. 119.

(perhaps rightly) by the Vulgate, "On earth peace to men of good will." To men of evil will, he said, there is no peace. He denounced and, in certain cases, excommunicated violators of the Church's property, rights, or discipline, and fomenters of discord between himself and the King. He referred to the insults and injuries he had suffered at the hands of de Broc, and, flinging the candle on the pavement below, cried out, "So let them perish! May Christ curse all who sow dissension between me and the King!" On the day of his death, at the banquet in the hall of his palace, when it was observed that he drank more wine than usual, he replied, "He that has much blood to shed must needs drink much wine."

This was the beginning of the end. He had retired to his chamber after dinner, and was sitting on his bed talking to his friends, when the knights, after an interview with the abbot of St. Augustine's, who was estranged from Becket, were admitted to his presence, and demanded the withdrawal of the excommunication of the bishops. After an angry altercation the Archbishop declared, "Were all the swords in England hanging over my head, you could not terrify me from my obedience to God and my Lord the Pope."

The knights left in furious anger to recover their swords, which had been laid down outside under a wide-branching sycamore, and, throwing off their cloaks, returned in their coats of mail, to find the entrance barred. Guided by de Broc, they entered the palace from the back, and, ascending a staircase where some carpenters had been at work, took their axes to break through any intervening doors; but the Archbishop was already gone. Very unwillingly he had been persuaded to retire into the cathedral, and in order to avoid the armed men by whom the place was now beset, he went by a private way through or under the cellarer's lodgings to the north-west door of the cloister. It was fastened, but so quickly did two cellarmen, roused by the tumult, fly through the monastic buildings into the cloister to open it from the other side that it was afterwards believed to have opened miraculously of its own accord, like the iron gate to St. Peter in the Acts of the Apostles.

He forbade the refastening of it, and urged, pushed, half carried by his friends, breaking loose from them and halting for a moment in the chapter-house, he at last reached the door from the cloister into the transept which has ever since been called the Martyrdom. This door also he refused to have closed behind him—" the church must not be turned into a castle "—and when his orders were disobeyed he unbarred it with his own hands to admit some terrified monks, driven before the mailed knights advancing along the western and southern alleys of the cloister shortly after the Archbishop and his party had traversed the northern and eastern alleys. The admission of the flying monks was, of course, the admission also of the pursuing knights.

In spite of the entreaties of those who desired to save him, it does not appear that Becket ever entertained the intention of escape by hiding in the secret places of the cathedral. His hesitations were rather as to the fitting spot for an archbishop to meet his enemies and his death. He reproved the timidity of the monks, and when they rushed past him into the choir, he was mounting the steps which then (as still in the corresponding southern transept) led thither from the south-east corner of the Martyrdom. He was perhaps making for the high altar, or St. Augustine's chair.

In order to picture clearly to ourselves what followed we must bear in mind certain structural changes. In 1170 the Lady Chapel (which is now called the Dean's Chapel) did not exist. In place of its entrance-screen was an apse, divided into two stories by a vaulted roof covering a part or the whole of the transept area, and supported by arches springing from a column which bisected the southern or inner side of this area. The ground floor was the chapel of St. Benedict, the upper floor that of St. Blaise, each with its altar in the apse.

It was five o'clock on the midwinter evening of December 29, 1170, and the darkness was unrelieved except by the dim light at the altar of St. Benedict, when there came the clash of armour and a voice, "Where is Thomas Becket, traitor to the King?" "Here am I; no traitor, but Archbishop and priest of God." The tall figure halted and turned on the stairway, then descended to confront the attack. "Absolve the bishops." "I cannot do other than I have done." Fitzurse planted an axe against his breast, another struck him on the shoulders with the flat of a sword. "Fly, you are a dead man!" "I am ready to die for God and the Church; but I warn you, I curse you in the name of God Almighty if you do not let my men escape."

In the Middle Ages the horror of sacrilege was greater than that of murder, and the first attempt was to carry him out of the cathedral. The Archbishop set his back against the pillar supporting the chapel of St. Blaise, and when they tried to hoist him on the back of Tracy, caught up the knight in his coat of mail and flung him on the pavement. Amid the furious words on both sides the Archbishop hurled at Fitzurse two bitter but probably not undeserved epithets: "You detestable fellow," "You pander" or "profligate wretch."[1] Then in a different key, characteristic of the double temperament of the man, as a sword swept the covering from his head, "I commend my cause and the cause of the Church to St. Denys the Martyr of France, to St. Alphege, and to the saints of the Church."

With cries of "Ferez! Ferez!" (Strike! Strike!) came the final onset. The faithful and devoted friend

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[1] *Vir abominabilis. Lenonem appellans.*

Grim, the Cambridge clerk, who up to this had stood by his master in his extremity, was severely wounded in the arm, uplifted to ward off a sword-stroke of Tracy's which drew blood from Becket's scalp and shoulder. Then quickly followed a stunning blow on the bleeding head with the flat of the sword. The Archbishop bade poor Grim resist no longer, and fell on his knees. "Lord, into Thy hands I commend my spirit." A third blow from Tracy laid him prostrate on the floor, murmuring, "For the name of Jesus and the defence of the Church I am willing to die." Then, as he lay helpless, came the violent stroke of Richard le Breton which severed the crown of the head from the skull and shivered the blade in pieces against the stones. A degraded clerk, Hugh of Horsea, who had hitherto taken no active part, strewed the exposed brain on the pavement with the point of his weapon, saying, "Let us go. The traitor is dead. He will rise no more."

The dreadful deed was accomplished, and the Archbishop was dead. The knights rushed out of the cathedral with the war-cry of the English kings, "Reaux! Reaux!" (King's men), plundered the palace of both valuables and documents, and in a storm of lightning and rain rode off with their spoil on horses stolen from the palace stables. They were well mounted, for Becket loved a good horse.

That night the body was carried up into the choir and laid before the High Altar. The next day it was removed to the crypt beneath the Trinity Chapel where the living man had loved to pray, and enclosed in a new marble sarcophagus, so constructed or adapted, with two oval windows or openings on each side, that devotees could touch or kiss the coffin within.[1]

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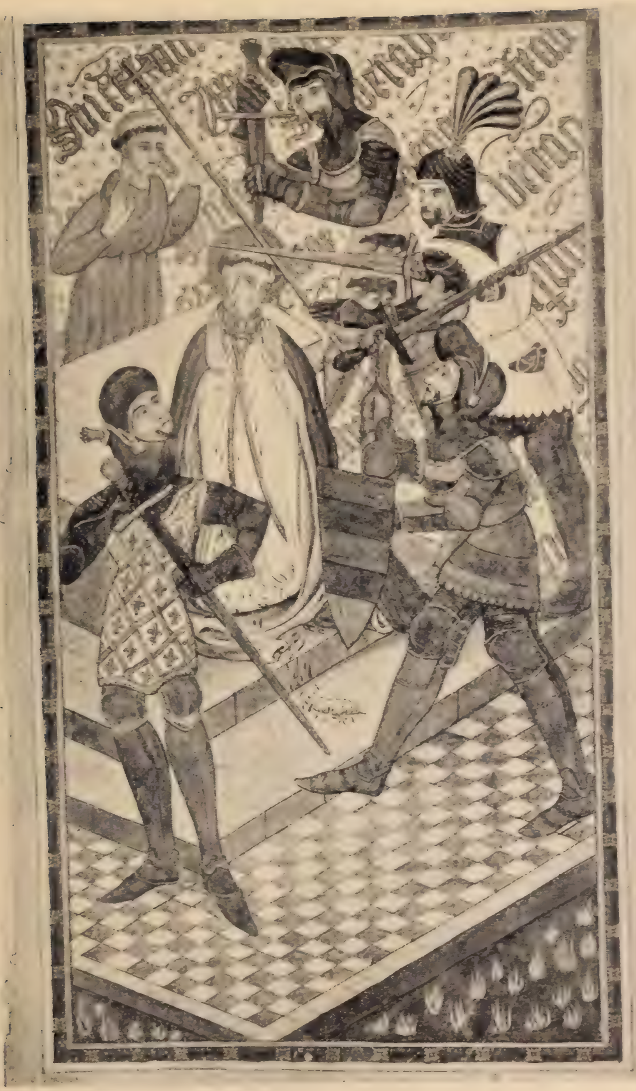
[1] This tallies with Gervase and the representation of the *tumba* in the thirteenth-century windows. Other authorities seem to state that the windows or openings were in a protecting wall built round the sarcophagus and gave access only to its exterior.



THE MARTYRDOM OF ST. THOMAS
From a Picture on a Panel at the Head of
the Tomb of King Henry IV

Gervase the chronicler, who was a monk of Canterbury at that time, states that he had both seen and touched the garments within. Many representations of this " tomb " (*tumba*) are to be seen in the thirteenth-century " miracle " windows of the existing Trinity Chapel, and are not to be confounded with the more gorgeous " shrine " (*feretrum*) to which the Translation was made fifty years later.

When the monks, watching and weeping by their master's body, discovered beneath the many and heavy outer garments—for it was midwinter, and the twelfth century had neither coal nor appliance for heating large buildings—all the signs of an extreme austerity—the monastic habit, the hair-shirt, the marks of the scourge, the toleration of tormenting vermin—they with tears hailed him not only as true monk but as true saint. Three years later this canonisation was officially ratified by the Pope, and Thomas Becket became St. Thomas of Canterbury; but almost immediately began the extraordinary series of visions, miracles, and pilgrimages. A great wave of emotion passed over the land, transmitting mystic influence beyond the Channel and the North Sea. Healing virtue dwelt in everything which the saint had worn or used, and the least drop or tincture of his blood, mixed with water from the well near his tomb and distributed in small leaden vials or *ampullæ*, became the most prized and potent of charms. " As the palm was a sign of a pilgrimage to Jerusalem," says Dean Stanley, " and a scallop-shell of a pilgrimage to Compostella, so a leaden vial or bottle suspended from the neck became the mark of a pilgrimage to Canterbury. . . . The Canterbury pilgrim had his hat thick-set with ' a hundred ampulles ' or with leaden brooches representing the mitred head of the saint, with the inscription *Caput Thomæ*. Many of these are said to have been found in the beds of the Stour and the Thames, dropped as the vast concourse departed from Canterbury or reached London."

For a year the desecrated church lay silent and desolate; the pictures and hangings were taken down, the bells were not rung, the altar was veiled, there was no music, the services were held in the chapter-house. On December 21, 1171, the church was "reconciled" by the sprinkling of holy water by order of Pope Alexander III, who ruled that, "as was customary at St. Peter's, Rome, the sacrament of dedication should not be repeated."[1]

It is not difficult to identify the spot where Becket fell. Dean Stanley thought it precisely marked by the square piece of stone let into the pavement in place of a portion said to have been taken out and sent to Rome.[2] In any case, the early narratives point to a spot "in front of the corner wall of the chapel," *i.e.* the wall-space to which is now attached the monument of Archdeacon Chapman. Beneath the easternmost of the arches springing from the pillar which upheld the chapel of St. Blaise, the Archbishop fell "towards the north," so that his head lay towards the altar of St. Benedict in the apse.

Here, "in front of the corner wall," probably when the church was "reconciled" in 1171, was erected the simple but famous altar of the Martyrdom or of the Sword's Point (*ad Punctum Ensis*), of which a rude representation in stone is still to be seen over the south-west porch. It was on a platform of two wooden steps; above it was a canopied image of the martyr, with three tapers burning in a *candelabrum* at its feet; upon or over the altar was the *Cuspis Gladii* or point of le Breton's shattered sword, in a case with costly

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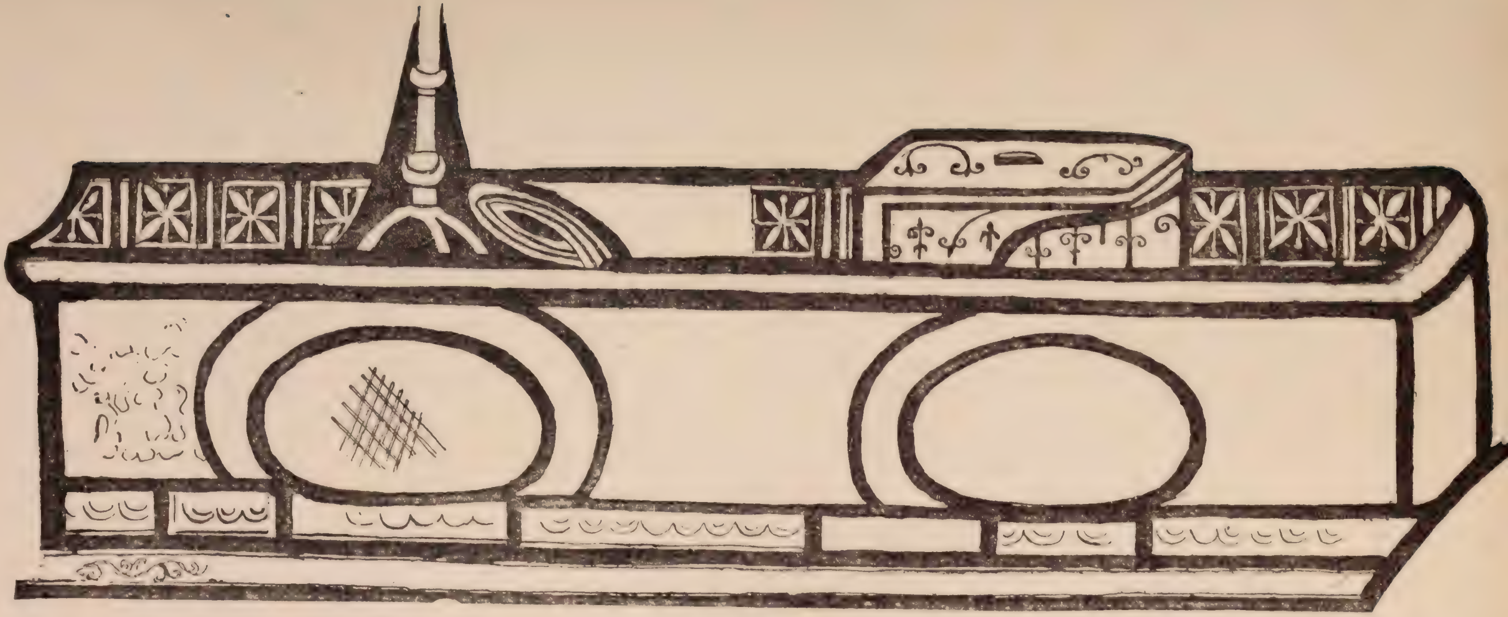
[1] *Epist. St. Thom. Cantuar.*, lib. v. Ep. xcv., Lupus, p. 882.

[2] Mention is made by the late Canon G. C. Pearson, in a letter to the *Kentish Gazette* of August 15, 1885, of a small piece of stone, in the Sacristy at Siena, pierced by a hole through which is drawn a slip of parchment inscribed in twelfth-century characters: "De lapide super quem sanguis beati Thomae Cantuariensis effusus est."



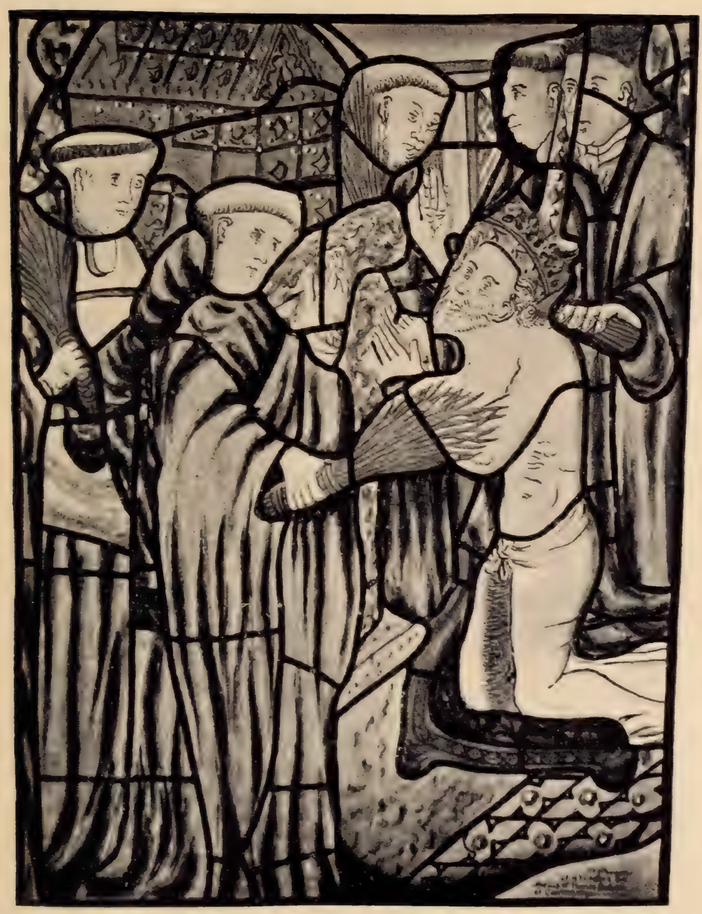
The Tomb of St. Thomas of Canterbury. From a stained glass window in the Cathedral

coverings, which were withdrawn for the gaze of wondering worshippers. A fragment of the martyr's brain under a piece of rock-crystal surmounted the case ; his gold ring set with sapphires was also shown, and, a century later, was added a similar ring of St. Edmund the Archbishop. Both these rings were "of great and wonderful virtue for relieving the eyes of sick persons." For a better view of this altar, Gervase tells us, the pillar against which Becket set his back in the struggle, and with it the arches and the chapel of St. Blaise which they supported, were taken down ; the steps also, which he was ascending towards the choir, were removed to make a more seemly space. The western stairway from the transept was (and is) protected by a low wall, which, as pilgrims multiplied, was extended to the north, making a passage or lobby by which monks and officials could pass from the cloister into the nave without mixing with the crowd in the Martyrdom. There was indeed a door in this wall known as the Red Door (*le red dur*), but it was usually locked and the key in safe keeping. On either leaf of this double door was one of the following lines, still partly legible in Somner's day and quoted by him

Est sacer intra locus venerabilis atque beatus
Præsul ubi sanctus Thomas est martyrizatus.

The wall appears to have been rebuilt in 1381, but becoming unsafe, owing to the digging of a grave, was finally removed in 1734. The altar of St. Benedict and the apse in which it stood remained till *c.* 1460, when the Lady Chapel was erected together with its entrance-screen by the first Prior Goldstone, and involved their removal. So much reconstruction of the transept has taken place that only the outer walls belong to Lanfranc's work, and therefore to the very fabric in which the murder was done. There is even a story that Prior Benedict, when he became Abbot of Peterborough, took with him "the stones on which the blood of the martyr was sprinkled." But excepting for the removal of the eastern stairway and of the pillar supporting St. Blaise's Chapel, the ground plan is unaltered.

The most notable and impressive of all Canterbury pilgrimages was that of the King himself, whose penance resounded through Europe, and has taken its place in history as one of the deepest recorded humiliations of great princes. There is no reason to doubt the sincerity of Henry's grief and remorse. For five weeks after he heard the news he shut himself off from both sport and public affairs, lamenting continually, "Alas! alas! that it ever happened." His very liability to paroxysms of rage shows that he was capable of being deeply moved. Henry saw at once the danger that the Pope might excommunicate him and lay an interdict on his kingdom. The frightful calamities following an interdict were fully exemplified later in the reign of his son John. To avoid these he wrote to the Pope disowning complicity in the murder, and at last after repeated solicitation received absolution from the Papal Legate at Avranche. The inscribed stone on which he knelt to receive it is the last vestige left of a great cathedral and gives the date as May 21, 1172. During the next two years, however, dangers of another kind grew darker in England. His penitence was not believed in; there were insurrections in Yorkshire, Norfolk, and the midland counties; the Scots had crossed the border; his sons were in rebellion, and Prince Henry actually meditated an invasion from Flanders. The King took a great resolve, landed at Southampton as a penitent pilgrim, and rode straight to Canterbury. At St. Dunstan's Church he stripped off his ordinary dress, and with a cloak thrown over a woollen shirt he walked barefoot to the cathedral. He knelt in the porch, went to the Martyrdom, and again kneeling kissed the sacred stone where the Arch-



KING HENRY II. RECEIVING HIS
DISCIPLINE AT THE HANDS
OF THE MONKS
From Stained Glass in the Bodleian Library at Oxford
Reproduced from Carter's Specimens of Ancient Architecture and Glass

bishop had fallen, laid aside his cloak in the crypt, and, kneeling yet again, placed his head in one of the apertures of the tomb. There he received five strokes with a rod from each bishop and abbot present, and three strokes from each of the eighty monks. He spent the whole night fasting in the crypt, and on the day following rode off fully absolved and carrying with him the pilgrim's usual phial of water mixed with the martyr's blood. Exhaustion of body and mortification of spirit threw him into a fever, but within a week William the Lion of Scotland was taken prisoner at Richmond in Yorkshire, the Flanders fleet was driven back, and the pacified saint seemed to have lightened the horizon for him on every side.

Henry's penance was on July 12, 1174. On September 5 came the great fire as related in the next chapter, followed by the building of the existing choir, Trinity Chapel, and corona. This is important to our present purpose chiefly as leading up to the next great phase in the history of Becket's relics, their translation from the tomb in the crypt to the shrine in the retro-choir. Before that event many pilgrims had come and gone, some of them royal and famous—or infamous; among them Lewis VII of France, Richard Cœur de Lion, John, and William the Lion of Scotland, who, by his defeat, was so impressed with the saint's power that he built in his honour the abbey of Aberbrothock. But the martyr's bones did not attain their highest glory till 1220, fifty years after his death, the jubilee, as it were, of his entrance into Paradise. The day was July 7, and took its place in the Church's calendar as the "Feast of the Translation of St. Thomas." Archbishop Stephen Langton made the occasion so magnificent, and the crowds entertained by him were so vast, that the debts incurred were a burden to his next four successors in the see, although the offerings of the pilgrims were equivalent to nearly £30,000 of our money. At the Martyrdom or Altar of the Sword's Point was taken

£93 0s. 2d., at the tomb in the crypt £279 9s., at the shrine £702 4s.; in all £1074 13s. 2d., at a time when money was worth nearly thirty times its present value.

The jubilee of the Translation was held every fifty years from 1220 to 1520, and came to be known as the Great Pardon, from the Pope's accordance of plenary indulgence to all pilgrims; but the offerings of 1220 were never equalled. In 1420, the time of Henry V and Archbishop Chicheley, it is said that the Great Pardon assembled 100,000 pilgrims; but the offerings were only £570—at the shrine £360, at the corona £150, at the "Sword's Point" £37, at the tomb in the crypt £23. Assuming a decline in value during the two centuries to about twenty times that of our money, this would work out at £11,480. It is doubtful whether the Great Pardon of 1520 ever took place. The Pope, hard pressed by the outlay on the building of St. Peter's at Rome, refused the grant of plenary indulgence unless half the offerings were made over to him for that purpose. Dr. Grig, proctor at the court of Rome for the Prior and Chapter, gives an instructive account of the negotiations. After many questions by his Holiness (Leo X), the proctor had affirmed that since the death and passion of St. Peter there never had been a man who had done more for the liberties of the Church than St. Thomas of Canterbury. *He* [Dr. Grig] *recommends that a gold cup be sent to his Holiness at once*, and that the old men of Canterbury be examined by a notary and their evidence sent to Rome. He augurs well from the fact that he is in high favour with the Pope's sister, but has finally to admit that after interviewing the Pope every second day for ten days he can make no better terms than the surrender of half the oblations to the building fund of St. Peter's.

The great event of 1220, in honour of which all financial considerations were disregarded, was, of course, the Translation itself. "A long procession, which included twenty-four bishops and nearly all the abbots in England, headed by the young King Henry III, entered the crypt. The [iron] chest containing the remains of the saint was placed on the shoulders of Archbishop Langton, the Archbishop of Rheims, Hubert de Burgh, Grand Justiciar of England, and Pandulph, the Papal Legate," and borne along aisle and stairway to the gilded and pillared ark in the chapel which had been built specially for its reception, and where for three centuries afterwards it was enshrined. Not the least interested and interesting members of that brilliant assembly were the two "incomparable craftsmen" to whose genius were due the design and the workmanship of the shrine, and who prepared and set in order the pageant of the Translation. Their names are preserved to us by Matthew Paris [1]—Walter of Colchester, sacrist of St. Albans, and Elias of Dereham, canon of Salisbury. The latter was doubtless the Elias of Dereham who is mentioned in a charter five years later (1225) as prior of St. Gregory's, Canterbury.

Only one contemporary representation of the shrine s known to be extant; it is in the highest group of medallions in the central of the three thirteenth-century windows on the north side of the chapel, and as it was within sight from the shrine itself can scarcely have been other than a faithful, though perhaps a conventionalised, representation. A reproduction of t will be found in Stanley's "Memorials" (Note I). "Becket is here shown issuing from his shrine in full pontificals to go to the altar as if to celebrate Mass. The monk to whom the vision appears is lying in the oreground on a couch," and is doubtless intended for Benedict, a contemporary of the martyrdom who elates the vision as having been seen by him. Below re the words *Prodire feretro*—as we should say, Issuing from the shrine."

Amongst the Cottonian MSS. in the British Museum there is a drawing of later date which cannot easily be reconciled with the representation in the window. Stanley reproduces this also, and endeavours to explain it as showing the stone base surmounted by the wooden case or covering which usually protected the shrine. The base shows, not pillars, but arched apertures in the masonry; and the gilded metal finials which belonged to the inner ark are shown on the top of the wooden case.

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[1] *Hist. Angl.*, R.S., ii. p. 242.

The shrine stood lengthways eastward and westward in the centre of the lofty chapel, and cannot be better described than in Stanley's words:

"Above its eastern extremity was fixed in the roof a gilded crescent, still remaining. It has been conjectured with some reason that it may have been brought by some crusading pilgrim from the dome of an Oriental mosque, and that round it a group of Turkish flags and horse-tails hung from the roof over the shrine beneath—like the banners of St. George's Chapel, Windsor. At its western extremity, separating it from the Patriarchal Chair, which stood where the Communion Table is now placed, extended the broad pavement of mosaic, with its border of circular stones, ornamented with fantastic devices, chiefly of the signs of the zodiac, similar to that which surrounds the contemporary tombs of Edward the Confessor and Henry III at Westminster. Immediately in front of this mosaic was placed 'the altar of St. Thomas' at the head of the shrine, and before this the pilgrims knelt, where the long furrow in the purple pavement still marks the exact limit to which they advanced. Before them rose the shrine, secure with its strong iron rails, of which the stains and perhaps the fixings can be traced in the broken pavement around. For those who were allowed to approach still closer there were iron gates which opened. The lower part of the shrine was of stone, supported on arches; and between these arches the sick and lame pilgrims were allowed to ensconce themselves, rubbing their rheumatic backs or diseased legs and arms against the marble which brought them into the nearest contact with the wonder-working body within. The shrine properly so called rested on these arches, and was at first invisible. It was concealed by a wooden canopy, probably painted outside with sacred pictures, suspended from the roof. At a given signal this canopy was drawn up by ropes, and the shrine then appeared blazing with gold and jewels; the wooden sides were plated with gold and damasked with gold wire; cramped together on this gold ground were innumerable jewels, pearls, sapphires, balassas, diamonds, rubies, and emeralds, and also, 'in the midst of the gold,' rings or cameos of sculptured agates, cornelians, and onyx stones.

"As soon as this magnificent sight was disclosed every one dropped on his knees, and probably the tinkling of the silver bells attached to the canopy would indicate the moment to all the hundreds of pilgrims in whatever part of the cathedral they might be. Whilst the votaries knelt around, the shrine-keeper, or on special occasions the Prior, came forward and with a white wand touched the several jewels, naming the giver of each." Erasmus, who saw the treasures of the cathedral in 1513, calls this official with a touch of characteristic mockery the '*Mystagogus*.' Each of the holy places had its own custodian, its own store of relics, its own narratives of miraculous cure; to say nothing of what Erasmus saw in the sacristy, St. Thomas' pastoral staff, rough cloak, and bloody handkerchief, nor of the vast store of general relics, in ivory, gilt, or silver coffers, in the choir. The pilgrims were led from the nave, through the dark passage under the ascent to the choir, for their homage at the Altar of the Sword's Point; thence to the tomb or sarcophagus, holy still though empty, in the crypt; then back into the south transept and up the stairway into the choir aisle to the *Caput Beati Thomæ* (" Saint Thomas' Hed ") in the round chapel at the extreme east of the church. Here was a golden or silver-gilt bust or head of the martyr which was believed to contain a fragment of his crown or scalp. Whether this was itself the corona and gave its name to the chapel, or whether corona is an architectural term, is not quite certain, and according to our view on that point we shall interpret the statement that in 1314 Prior Henry of Eastry spent £115 12s. 4d. (nearly £3000) in adorning " the crown of St. Thomas " with gold, silver, and precious stones. From " Saint Thomas' Hed " the company were led into the chapel of St. Thomas (now called the Trinity Chapel) to the shrine, and returned down the south choir aisle, where still remain the marks of the iron grille which divided the streams of ascending and descending votaries. There is also a worn step where they may have knelt to receive the leaden bottles or " ampullas " of water mixed with blood.

The account by Erasmus in his *Peregrinatio Religionis ergo* of his visit to Canterbury in 1513 is interesting not only as a description by a shrewd observer and accurate reporter; it is full of quiet humour, as when he sees in the cathedral porch the statues of the three armoured knights, " enjoying the same kind of fame as Judas, Pilate, and Caiaphas "; it is first-hand evidence of the immense value of the accumulated treasures—" one would call Midas and Crœsus beggars in view of the power of gold and silver there to be seen "; " the most worthless thing there [in the shrine] was the gold, every part glowed, sparkled, and flashed with rare and large gems." Finally it gives us the attitude of a learned and tolerant man, who never separated from Rome, towards the degraded and degrading relic-worship of the time—" a parcel of ragged handkerchiefs with marks upon them of having been used "; and prepares us for Cranmer's belief in 1538 that the " blood " supplied to pilgrims consisted of red ochre.[1]

The last recorded pilgrim to the shrine was Madame de Montreuil, on her way to the Scottish Court on August 31, 1538. Her visit is thus related by William Penison, who was in waiting on her by order of the Lord Privy Seal: " By ten of the cloc she, her gentilwomen and the Ambassadour of France went to the Church, where I shewed her St. Thomas' Shryne and all other such things worthy of sight, at which she was not a little marveilled of the great riches thereof, saing to be innumerable; and that if she had not seen it, all the men in the wourlde would never a made her belyve it. Thus ever looking and viewing more than an oure, as well the Shryne as Saint Thomas' Hed, being at both sett cousshens to knyle, and the Pryour openyng Saint Thomas' Hed saing to her 3 times, 'This is Sainct Thomas' Hed,' and offered her to kysse it, but she nother knyled nor would kysse it, but still viewing the riches thereof. So she departed."[2]

The lady's indifference to the Prior's permission to kiss the " Hed " was a sign of the time. For more than a century the decline of belief in the virtue of the relics had been marked by a corresponding decline in the offerings of pilgrims. When William Selling was Prior in 1473–74 only £7 was received from the warden of the corona, nothing from the keepers of the shrine and of the tomb, and nothing from the altars of the Sword's Point and of St. Mary in the crypt. In 1467, when John Oxney was Prior, the whole year's offerings amounted to only 23s. from the corona.[3] The " miracles " had long ago degenerated from the comparatively reasonable category of faith-healing into that of mere credulity and superstition—the recovery of strayed falcons and of lost coins and rings; dead bodies revivified; the starling taught an invocation of St. Thomas and striking dead therewith the hawk which had pounced on him. The mockery of Erasmus was the voice of a new age.

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[1] " I have in great suspecte that St. Thomas of Canterbury his blodde in Christes Church in Canterburie is but a fayned thing, and made of some redde okar." " State Papers, Henry VIII," 580.

[2] " State Papers, Henry VIII," i. 583.

[3] " Priors' Accounts." *sub annis.*

The visit of Madame de Montreuil was in August 1538. In September, by authority of Henry VIII, who in 1517 with the Emperor Charles V had in great state paid his own devotions and offerings at the shrine, came the Commission for its total destruction. According to Stow's Annals, "These bones (by command of the Lord Cromwell) were then and there brent. . . . The spoile of which shrine in golde and pretious stones filled two great chests such as six or seaven strong men could doe no more than convey one of them out of the church." The "French Regale," the great jewel presented in 1179 by Lewis VII, had leapt miraculously from the ring on his hand, according to legend, and attached itself to the shrine. Now by an agency less miraculous, but equally efficacious, it leapt from the shrine and attached itself to the ring on Henry VIII's portentous thumb, and afterwards formed part of a jewelled "collar" of his daughter Queen Mary, who never attempted to undo her father's ruthless spoiling of St. Thomas. This is in itself an evidence that his bones were actually and finally destroyed. A rude stone sarcophagus has of recent years been found under the pavement of the crypt, containing the bones of a tall man with a cleft skull; and it has been argued that, as in the case of Dante at Ravenna and of Cuthbert at Durham, the remains of Becket were removed and hidden by the monks, who substituted others to undergo the sacrilegious violence of the King. Till this conjecture is supported by further evidence we prefer to accept the statement that the saint's bones were burnt or obscurely buried.

Among the current but unattested stories of the time is one that the cause of Henry II *versus* Thomas Becket was formally pleaded in the law courts. A pursuivant solemnly read by the shrine a citation that its inmate should appear to answer charges of treason, contumacy, and rebellion; when after thirty days no voice or presence made reply, the case was argued at Westminster and sentence was pronounced against the Archbishop. What we know is that by Royal Proclamation he was declared to be neither saint nor martyr, his images and pictures were ejected from all churches and public buildings, his name struck out of the calendar and erased from all office books and forms of prayer. The place in the crypt where twelfth-century pilgrims had knelt at the tomb was by Order in Council annexed to one of the canons' houses as a cellar for wine and faggots.

So ended the strife of nearly four centuries, and so died relic-worship in Canterbury Cathedral.

This chapter would be incomplete without some brief summary of the import and result of Becket's life and death.

The cathedral fabric owes much of its magnificence to its having become one of the most famous of European places of pilgrimage. The great disaster of 1174, the burning of the choir of Conrad, was turned, under the spell of Becket's memory, into the occasion for building the far more splendid and spacious structure which still remains the glory of Canterbury. The existing Trinity Chapel was planned as a resting-place for the saint's relics; the lofty level of its floor suggested the imposing ascent from the nave as to a throne-room, and incidentally made possible the remarkable height and dignity of the eastern part of the crypt. The offerings of countless pilgrims provided part of the means, and veneration for the martyr's bones most of the zeal, which through centuries of turmoil and through many interruptions and calamities carried forward the building of the great church. The custody of the shrine brought to the Christ Church monks both importance and wealth, and with these brought also heavy liabilities and charges, such as forced loans to the State, and the entertainment of innumerable guests and pilgrims, some of whom were of the highest rank and proportionately burdensome and expensive. Nor was it only the monastery and the church that were affected so vitally by the power in a dead man's bones, but also the city and the archbishops who took their title from it. Till the year 1170 Canterbury had been a small and comparatively obscure place. It was the seat of the archbishopric, but as the Primate came to be called away more and more for national purposes—the danger became very obvious before the end of the twelfth century—he would have lived less and less at the metropolitical city, which might have remained as unimportant as the little city in Thrace to which Constantinople once bore a nominal allegiance in affairs ecclesiastical. But Canterbury grown rich and renowned as a great centre of European pilgrimage, Canterbury one of the chief holy places of Christendom, could justly claim that its Primates should no longer spend their years in foreign lands, whether on the King's business or the Pope's.

If Becket, in his death, left an ineffaceable mark on the structure of his cathedral, and on the history of his monastery, his city, and his office, he left likewise a mark far more momentous and significant on the life of Christendom and on the history of his country. "There is no more reason to doubt that Becket caused a religious revival than that Wesley and Whitefield did."[1] Only Becket's revival, unlike theirs, was felt in France, Italy, the Low Countries, Denmark, and Norway. Germany, bound up with the cause of the antipope, had little sympathy with the champion,

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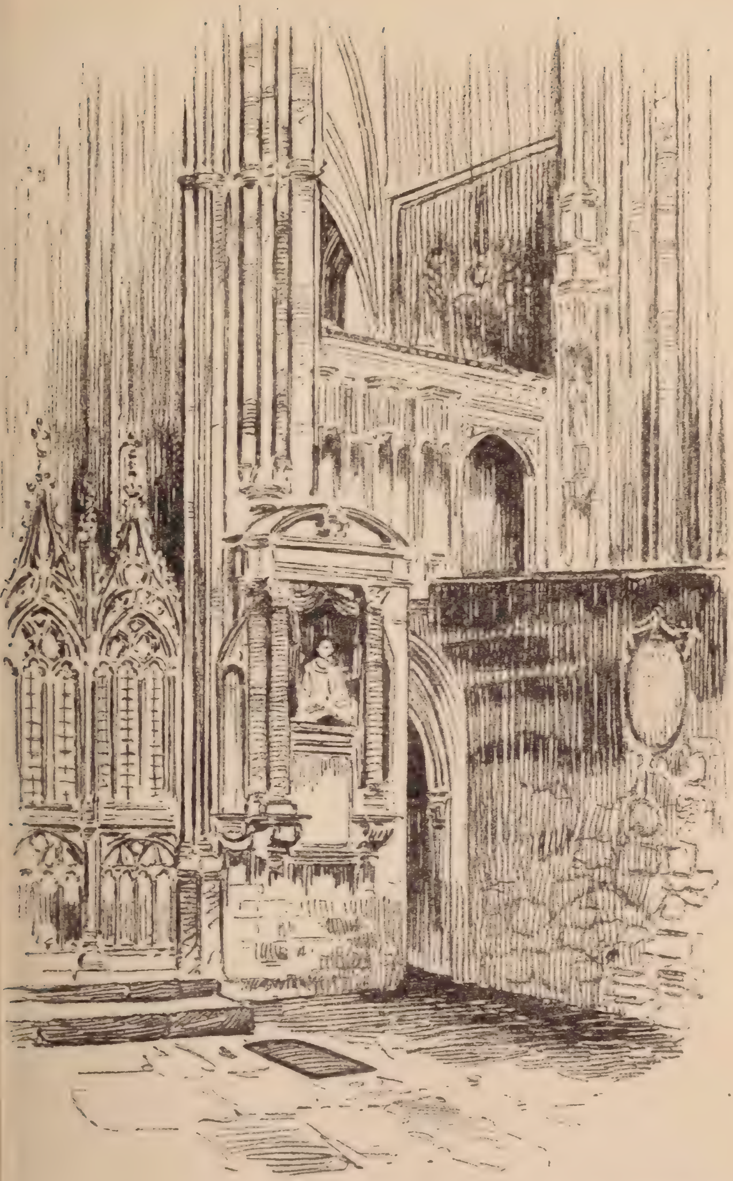
[1] Abbott's "St. Thomas of Canterbury," ii. p. 301.



Site of the Martyrdom of St. Thomas of Canterbury

suppliant, and ultimately canonised saint of Pope Alexander III; and there is no record of pilgrims from Spain. On the other hand, among the myriads who knelt at the tomb of "the holy blissful martyr" were figures as strange as a Bishop of Tarsus and the Icelandic chief who brought an offering of walrus-teeth. The "miracles," which Dr. Abbott passes under review with his usual acuteness and thoroughness, and many of which are depicted in the ancient glass of the Trinity Chapel, are remarkably attested by contemporary evidence, and at least as credible as those of Lourdes or of the Christian Scientists of our own day. Though now we may reasonably describe them as instances of "mind-cure" or faith-healing, they are none the less proofs of an extraordinary impression left upon the thought and feeling of the time. "We are not atheists," says Archdeacon Hutton,[1] "because we see no reason to believe that God has specially distinguished the waters of Lourdes or the last fifty years of our era. Nor do we cease to be historical students because we deal with the miracles of St. Thomas as illustrations of the deep influence of his life and death, his character and principles." "We must admit at once," says Dr. Abbott,[2] "that Becket dying an ordinary death would probably not have cured a single spasm of rheumatism. But it by no means follows that he is so far to be separated from his death that it is to be called an accident instead of an act. The two chroniclers of miracles agree in asserting that the miracles brought with them an uprising of moral and religious fervour, and indirectly prove it by multitudinous details recorded without controversial purpose." Though Becket was a stranger to democratic theories, and probably to democratic sympathies, he was instinctively accepted as the champion of popular rights against feudal oppression, and this gave his memory power to secure for nearly four hundred years what he really cared for—the Church's independence of the State.

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[1] Abbott's "St. Thomas of Canterbury," ii. p. 271.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 301.

In the political sphere the result of his martyrdom upon the minds of Englishmen was a reaction so great as to suspend the Constitutions of Clarendon (now an integral part of British law) and to prolong the sway of the ecclesiastical power until the reign of Henry VIII.

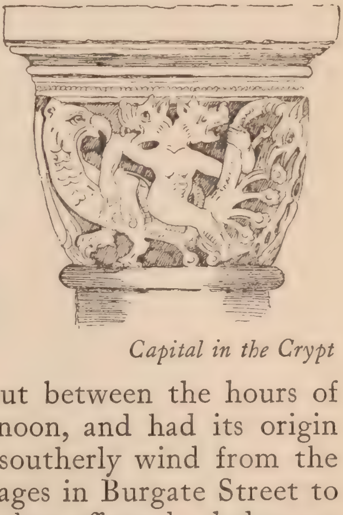
To this day the prevalence of the Christian name of Thomas is not due to a special regard for the apostle of that name, but to the devotion of the people through many generations to their great saint and martyr, the first man of English birth after the Norman Conquest who became Archbishop of Canterbury.

Capital of Martyrdom Door

CHAPTER V

THE REBUILDING OF THE CHOIR AFTER THE GREAT FIRE OF 1174 BY GUILLAUME DE SENS AND WILLIAM THE ENGLISHMAN

THE monks of Christ Church had scarcely recovered from the shock of the terrible tragedy which had been enacted in their midst, when they were again prostrated by an overwhelming disaster. On September 5, 1174—less than two months after King Henry II had made his tardy reparation for Becket's murder by receiving his "discipline" at the martyr's tomb in the crypt—the great choir, which had been dedicated only thirty-four years previously, was consumed by fire.



Capital in the Crypt

The conflagration broke out between the hours of three and four in the afternoon, and had its origin in sparks carried by a high southerly wind from the burning thatch of three cottages in Burgate Street to the roof of the choir, where they effected a lodgment in the joints of the leaden roof, and, fanned by the wind, set fire to the rafters. The danger was, however, unobserved until, through the melting of the leaden roof, the flames began to show themselves, and a cry arose in the churchyard, "See! See! The church is on fire!" An attempt was made to reach the roof, but the fire had now obtained so strong a hold that the flames and smoke speedily drove back the willing helpers, who were then unable to do anything to avert the danger.

Anselm's choir was not groined in stone, and it soon became evident that the fall of the wooden ceiling could not be long delayed. In order therefore to save some of the fittings of the choir before the roof came down, the monks, assisted by the citizens, began to tear down the tapestry hangings and to remove to a place of safety the reliquary chests, service books, vestments, and other ornaments. This had scarcely been effected, when the burning roof came crashing down, and, gathering fresh fuel from the woodwork of the choir below, the flames shot up to a height of five-and-twenty feet, "grievously injuring the walls and columns of the church." Fortunately the intervention of the great central tower and the direction of the wind (which was probably more south-west than south) saved the nave and transepts of the church from destruction. But the flames swept over the choir roof in a north-easterly direction and ignited the infirmary buildings.[1]

"In this manner," says Gervase, who was an inmate of the convent at the time and an eye-witness of all that occurred, "the house of God, hitherto delightful as a paradise of pleasures, was now made a despicable heap of ashes, reduced to a dreary wilderness and laid open to all the injuries of the weather."[2]

But although the monks marvelled at this inscrutable dispensation of God which had bereft them of a building of which they were so justly proud, they at once decided that the daily and nightly offices of their order must suffer no interruption. An altar was therefore erected in the nave, and a space about it was enclosed within a low wall where the brethren might perform their devotions in some sort of privacy. At the same time the relics of the saints were removed from their desecrated shrines and temporarily reinterred in the nave. This preliminary work was doubtless hastened on in view of the approaching enthronement of Becket's successor. Archbishop Richard, like his predecessor Lanfranc, found his cathedral church in ruins when he first saw it. Nevertheless the ceremony of his enthronement was duly carried out on October 5, just one month after the outbreak of the fire.

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[1] Traces of the fire may still be seen on the piers of the infirmary hall, but as it was not necessary to rebuild them the damage here was apparently less than in the choir.

[2] Gervase, *Tractatus de Combustione*, in *Opera Historica*, R.S. vol. i. p. 4. A translation of the whole tract is given in Willis's "Architectural History of Canterbury Cathedral."

It now remained for the monks to decide how they would deal with the eastern limb of the church. Although roofless, the walls and piers were still standing, and the question arose as to whether a restoration might not be effected which would not involve the destruction of what was left.

The convent at this juncture contained no second Ernulf to whose skill in architectural matters the solution of the problem might be safely entrusted, and it was deemed necessary to call in expert assistance from outside. Amongst a number of English and French artificers who in response to the invitation of the Prior and Chapter came to Canterbury for the purpose of making a survey of the ruins, and issuing a report thereon, was one Guillaume de Sens, whom Gervase describes as "a man active and ready, and as a workman most skilful both in wood and stone." Whether Guillaume had had anything to do with the building of the cathedral church of his native city is not certain, but since that church was finished in 1168 it is very probable that he had been employed in this connection, and that the circumstance had much to do with his selection as the most fitting candidate for undertaking the supervision of the new work at Canterbury. However this may have been, "the lively genius and good reputation" of the Frenchman made such a favourable impression upon the Prior and Chapter of Christ Church that they appointed him as their surveyor and dismissed his rivals. Guillaume began by making a careful examination of the ruins, and soon convinced himself that their condition was such as to necessitate a practical rebuilding of the whole. But knowing the affection which the monks retained for Anselm's choir, he prudently kept his opinion to himself until the brethren had somewhat recovered from the first shock of the calamity. He then told the monks distinctly that if they wished to have a safe and beautiful house of God, the damaged columns and all that they supported must be taken down.

The monks, however, still hesitated to give permission for the destruction of their much-loved choir, and Guillaume, confident of the ultimate issue, contented himself with quietly making preparations to begin the work whenever he should receive permission to proceed.

At length a reluctant consent was given, and the remainder of the year was spent in clearing the ruins of *débris* and in the preparation of the necessary plant and material.

In the following year—that is, in 1175—Guillaume began the work at the western end, and before the year was out had erected the first pair of pier arches on either side of the choir. Thenceforward the work proceeded eastwards during the next three years until the month of September 1178, when an accident occurred which deprived the convent of the services of their architect. Guillaume by this date having reached the apse, had carried up its piers to the level of the clerestory, and was personally superintending the fixing of the "centres" for turning the great vault over the eastern crossing, when the planks of the scaffolding upon which he was standing gave way, and he was precipitated to the floor some fifty feet below, amidst a shower of stones and timber. That his injuries were severe is by no means surprising; indeed, it is a marvel that he escaped with his life. But for a time the master continued from his sick-bed to direct the operations, the actual supervision of the workmen being entrusted to one of the junior monks. The latter arrangement, however, did not work well, and Guillaume, finding that his health made little or no improvement, was constrained to resign his office, and at the approach of winter he left Canterbury for his native land.

The work of Guillaume de Sens was French in its setting out and in the leading lines of its construction; French, too, of the Isle de France in the details of the carved capitals of the choir, which the master may have worked himself.[1] But although the design came from France, it was for the most part carried out by English masons, who possessed traditions of their own which found expression in spite of the controlling influence under which they worked.

It was to one of these English craftsmen that the convent turned when bereft of the services of the Frenchman. William the Englishman, as he is called by Gervase to distinguish him from his predecessor, is described by the chronicler as "small in body, but in workmanship of many kinds acute and honest." That he had before him the plans of the Frenchman is practically certain, since much of the work for which the Englishman was responsible bears a closer resemblance to that of the choir of Sens than the work which we know was carried out by Guillaume himself. But whenever he had a free hand the Englishman gave free scope to his originality, and introduced new features.

Thus, although the coupled columns with their carved capitals and square abacuses of the retro-choir at Canterbury are clearly an imitation of those in a similar position in the cathedral church of Sens, those of the substructure exhibit in their round abacuses an entirely new feature. It is probable that this was due to a change of plan as to the level of the floor of the retro-choir after William the Englishman took over the work. The prior and chapter may have expressed a desire that the new chapel of St. Thomas, which was to be erected behind the Patriarchal Seat, should be placed at a somewhat higher level than was at first intended. Hence William in the construction of the lofty crypt which supported the chapel was untrammelled by the plans of his predecessor, and accordingly introduced here features that were altogether new. That some alteration of plan was made seems certain from the fact that the lower part of the shafts and bases, and in some cases even the capitals, of the ornamental arcade lining the walls on either side of the steps leading to the retro-choir are concealed by the masonry which forms these steps.

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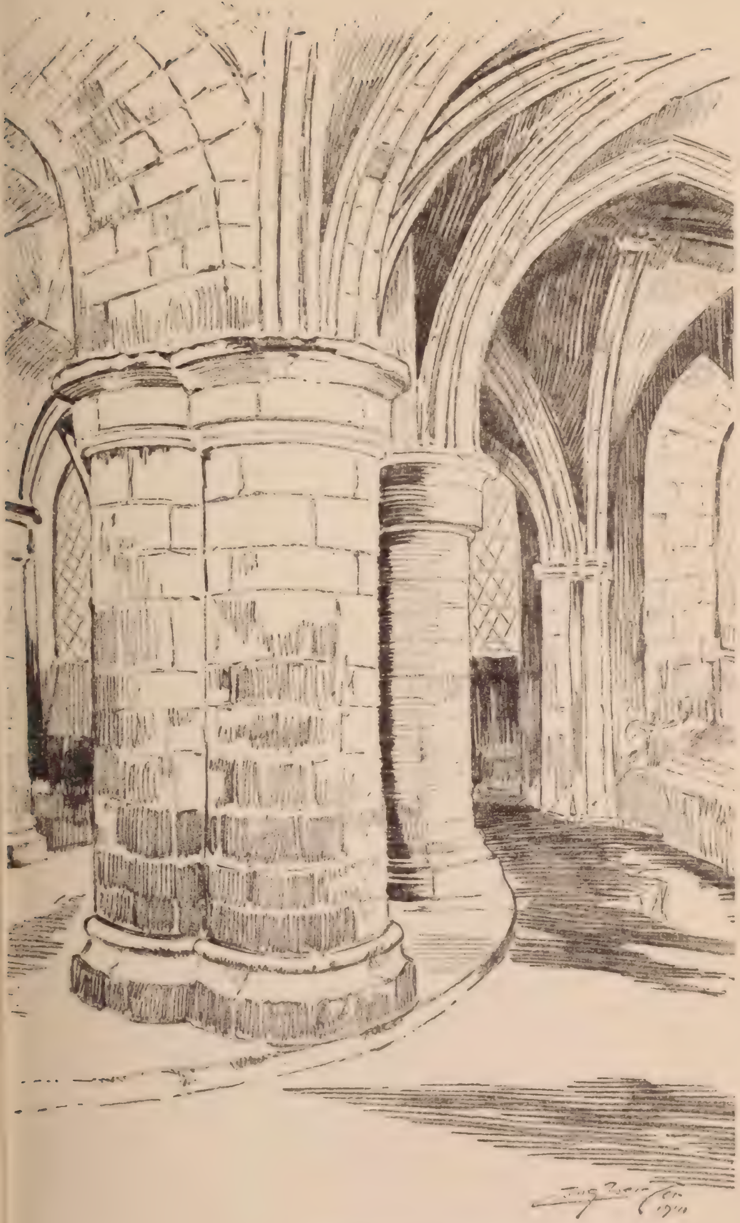
[1] E. G. Prior, "Cathedral Builders," chap. ii.

The foundations of the crypt of St. Thomas's Chapel were laid by William in the year 1179. The excavations for this purpose involved a disturbance of the monks' graveyard at the east end of the church, but the bones were collected carefully and reburied in a trench dug for their reception between the chapel and the infirmary hall.

The outer walls of the chapel of St. Thomas were built round those of the old Trinity Chapel so as not to disturb the tomb of the martyr, which, when at length the demolition of the Trinity Chapel became a necessity, was enclosed within a temporary wooden chapel in order that the visits of pilgrims to the wonder-working saint might suffer no interruption. How lucrative these visits might be is illustrated by the fact that when in that very year (1179) King Lewis VII (the first French king who ever visited England) paid his devotions to the martyr's tomb, he offered a cup of gold and the splendid jewel known as the *Regale* of



Substructure of Trinity Chapel (St. Thomas'

France, and in addition made to the convent a grant in perpetuity of one hundred Parisian *muys* of wine per annum.[1]

At the beginning of the following year, although the eastern part of the church was incomplete, the monks expressed a wish that the ritual choir should be prepared for their reception by the following Easter. In order to make the choir habitable by the appointed time, William now erected a wooden partition shutting off the unfinished work at the eastern end of the church, and built a wall or screen between the piers of the choir and presbytery on either side. He also reconstructed the high altar, and replaced the altars of SS. Alphege and Dunstan in their former positions. The translation of the relics of the saints now alone remained to be effected, and Prior Alan, knowing that the ordinary ceremonial of Easter Eve was somewhat lengthy, determined to carry out the translation privately on an earlier day. Accordingly, on Maundy Thursday at dead of night, the relics of the saints were removed to their new shrines in the presence of the Prior and obedientiaries only. When, however, on the morrow the news leaked out the whole convent was in an uproar. The monks protested that an insult had been offered to the brethren, and a most unwarrantable slight cast upon the venerable relics. They urged that the Prior and Chapter should be cited before the Archbishop and requested to resign their offices forthwith. It was with difficulty that Archbishop Richard managed to restore harmony, and only after a humble apology had been made by the Prior for his indiscreet act.

"Early on the morning of Easter Eve" (April 19, 1180), says Gervase, "the Archbishop in cope and mitre, and the monks in albes, according to the custom of the Church, went in procession to witness the making of the new fire in the cloister." When this had been accomplished, a taper kindled at the newly consecrated fire was placed on the end of a long staff (*hasta*) and carried in procession to the choir for the purpose of lighting the great Paschal candle which was to continue burning until Ascension Day.

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[1] The Paris *muy* was equivalent to sixteen gallons.

" At the door of the church," quoting again the words of Gervase, " which opens to the *martyrium* of St. Thomas, the Archbishop reverently received from a monk the pyx with the Eucharist, which was usually suspended over the great altar. This he carried to the altar of the new choir. Thus our Lord went before us into Galilee—that is, in our transmigration to the new church. The remainder of the offices that appertain to the day were devoutly celebrated ; and then the pontiff, standing at the altar vested in the chasuble (*infula*), began the *Te Deum laudamus*, and, the bells ringing, the monks took up the song with great joy, and shedding sweet tears they praised God with one voice for all His benefits."[1]

The monks being thus safely housed in their new choir, William was able to proceed with the new chapel of St. Thomas and with the round chapel or corona beyond it. Before pulling down the old Trinity Chapel it was necessary to remove to other parts of the church the bodies of those saints and archbishops who had been buried there. For SS. Odo and Wilfrid temporary resting-places were found in the shrines of SS. Dunstan and Alphege near the High Altar; Lanfranc was reinterred at the altar of St. Martin in the northern apse of the north-east transept; and Theobald in the chapel of St. Mary in the nave. Moreover, the altar of the Trinity Chapel, to which a special interest was attached from the fact that it was here that St. Thomas had celebrated his first Mass, was taken down and carefully reconstructed in the northernmost apse of the south-east transept, where it was re-dedicated in honour of St. John the Evangelist.

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[1] Gervase, R.S., vol. i. pp. 23, 24.

The old chapel was then destroyed, and in its place William erected the present beautiful structure, consisting of two unequal straight bays, and five which form the eastern apse, the whole being surrounded by side aisles and an ambulatory. It was in these side aisles and in the corona, says Professor Willis, that "our English William appears to have freed himself almost as completely from the shackles of imitation as was possible. In the side aisles the mouldings of the ribs still remain the same, but their management in connection with the side walls, and the combination of slender shafts with those of the twin lancet windows, here introduced for the first time, is very happy. Slender shafts of marble are employed in profusion by William of Sens. But here we find them either detached from the piers or combined with them in such a manner as to give a much greater lightness and elegance of effect than in the work of the previous architect. The lightness of style is carried still further in the corona, where the slender shafts are carried round the walls and made principal supports of the pier arches, over which are placed a light triforium and clerestory; and it must be remarked that all the arches in this part of the building are of a single order of mouldings, instead of two orders, as in the pier arches and triforium of the choir."[1]

The piers of St. Thomas' Chapel are composed each of two columns, set one behind the other. The innermost column of the second pair on either side is of pink Sicilian marble; these stood nearest to the shrine of St. Thomas, and there is a tradition that they were sent to Canterbury by Pope Innocent III, but of this there is no documentary evidence whatsoever.

Gervase's account of the building operations breaks off somewhat suddenly at the end of the tenth year from the commencement (1184). And although he distinctly states that the round tower or corona at the extreme eastern end of the church was roofed in by the above date, it is not quite certain whether in its upper story it was ever actually completed. According to tradition, the monks intended to finish it in the early part of the sixteenth century, and it is clear that some work was done to it at about that date; but it was discontinued when the monastery was suppressed by King Henry VIII, with the result that the topmost story was left in an unfinished and ragged condition. Nor was the appearance of the corona improved by an attempt to mend matters in the eighteenth century. About fifty years ago further projects for completing it were set on foot. Willis, in a letter to the dean and chapter dated November 24, 1860, suggested that "a conical roof should be placed on the corona, with a suitable parapet, and that the stair turrets should be carried up to the same height as the Norman turrets of the eastern transepts." At the same time other plans were submitted by Sir Gilbert Scott and Mr. Austin, the cathedral surveyor. The design of the last-named gentleman, which comprised three spires, seems to have found favour with certain members of the governing body, and much of the stone necessary for carrying it into effect was actually prepared. Ultimately, however, wiser counsels prevailed and the scheme was abandoned.[1]

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[1] Willis, "Architectural History," *op. cit.* p. 95.

The various points in which the new choir differed from its predecessor are enumerated by Gervase, to whose tract Willis has added an admirable commentary; but it will only be possible here to indicate in the briefest outline the more salient features which distinguished the two buildings.

In altitude the new choir much excelled the old one. Its walls were about fourteen feet higher than Ernulf's walls. Hence the apex of the roof of the old choir

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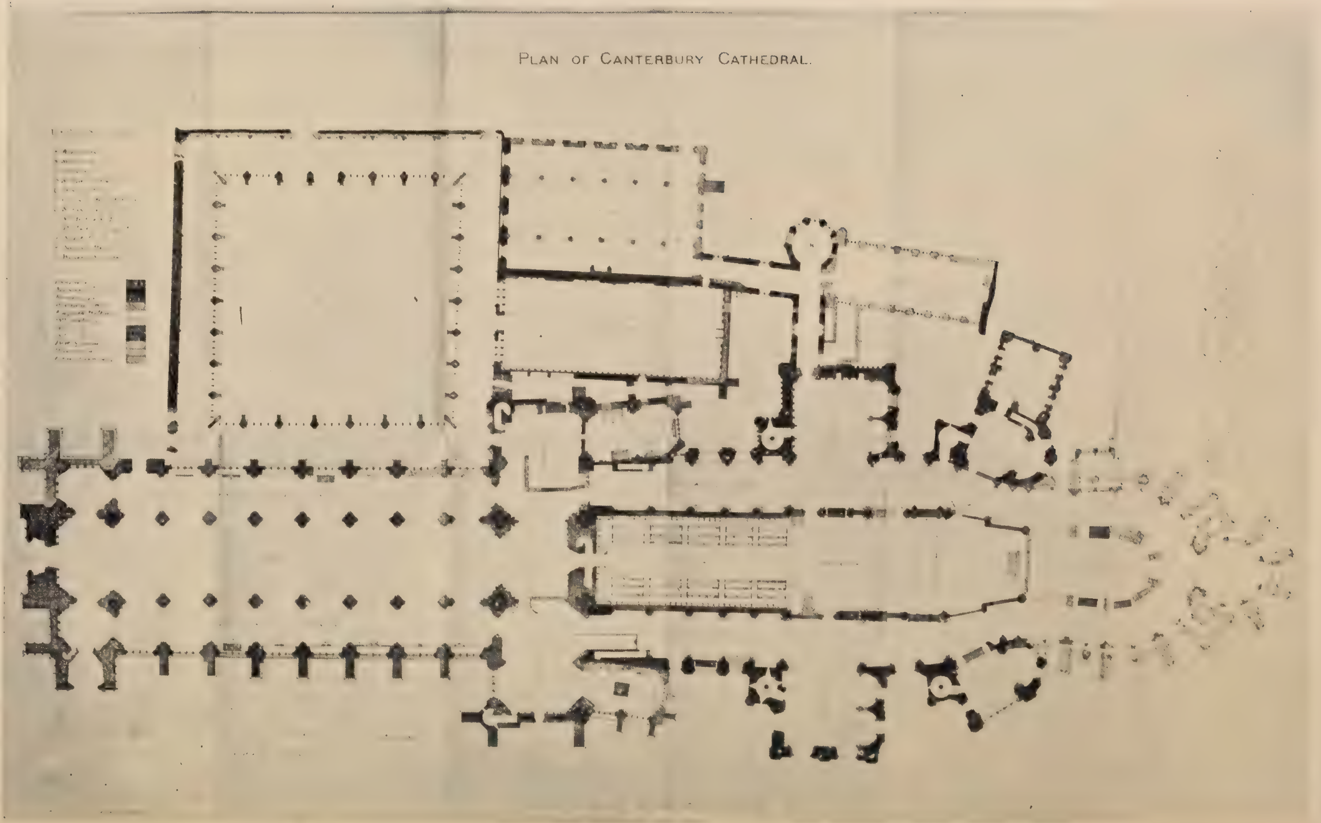
[1] The wrought stone is still stored in the passage leading from the cloister to the infirmary.



GROUND PLAN
Showing the eastward extension of the Choir carried
out by Guillaume de Sens and William the Englishman

would not have risen much above the wall plate of the new one. All Ernulf's mouldings were sculptured with an axe, while those of the two Williams were carved with a chisel; and whereas the former were monotonous repetitions of the same design, the latter exhibit an immense variety of form, and in the case of the capitals of the main piers are of unsurpassed beauty and faultless in execution. Instead of the invariable round-headed arch of the older building, we now find round and pointed arches intermingled. Thus while the principal arches and those of the clerestory are all pointed, those of the triforium exhibit the two orders combined. A further novelty was the introduction of Purbeck or Petworth marble shafts, of which both the Frenchman and his English successor made lavish use. The fashion had its origin in Flanders, where architects had already discovered the excellent effect of black Belgian marble pillars set in the angles of white stone. "The turned shafts of marble," says Mr. Prior, "induced the round-planned abacus and the moulded capital, and these led to changes in the arch mouldings. The multiplied mouldings of the English arches, their labels, their dog-tooth enrichments, their use of arcadings, all grew from the fact that the masons of Kent and Sussex had, by reason of the lack of native stone on the spot, to get their material from over the sea from two quarters—that is, from Normandy and Flanders—the result being that there gradually grew up two distinct classes of masons—the marblers and the white stone-cutters."[1]

With regard to the ground plan of the new choir, the additions made by the two Williams will at once become apparent when the plans of the old and new choirs are compared. And it will also be noticed that the contraction of the later choir in the neighbourhood of the presbytery, and the expansion of the retro-choir which forms such a beautiful and unique feature, are due to the retention of Ernulf's towers, which in the old church flanked the curve of the apse. These towers, as will be seen by reference to the Norman drawing at p. 22, were originally equal in height to the western towers. At what time they were cut down to their present height is unknown. But it is not unlikely that this was done when the corona was built, and that the two large stair turrets of the corona were intended to take the place of the earlier towers, since there are indications that they were designed to be carried up at least one story beyond their present altitude.

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[1] "Cathedral Builders," *ut supra*, p. 46.

Archbishop Richard lived just long enough to see the completion of the new choir. He died at Halling, near Rochester, on February 16, 1184, and was buried with great pomp in the chapel of St. Mary in the north aisle of the nave of his cathedral church.

C. E. W.

CHAPTER VI

GROWTH OF THE POWER OF THE MONKS OF CHRIST CHURCH, AND THEIR STRUGGLE WITH ARCHBISHOPS BALDWIN AND HUBERT WALTER

Capital in the Crypt

During the one hundred and twenty years which elapsed between Lanfranc's reconstitution of the convent of Christ Church and the election of Baldwin to the Primacy the power and influence of the monks had been making continual growth. For this there were several contributory causes. The conventual estates were augmented yearly by the piety of Churchmen, whose liberality was as yet unchecked by any Statute of Mortmain; while in their administration the ordinance of Anselm had given the monks a practical autonomy. Becket's great charter of privileges had done much for the prestige of the metropolitical church by limiting to its walls the consecration of all bishops of the province; and the possession of the wonder-working relics of St. Thomas had, of course, added enormously to the sense of self-importance with which the monks of Christ Church were beginning to regard themselves. Hence by the end of the twelfth century we find the prior and convent putting forth the claim that they were the permanent governing body of the church of Canterbury, to which body even the archbishop owed his election and professed obedience. These pretensions were first resisted by the monks of Rochester. From the circumstances of its foundation, the See of Rochester had always been regarded as peculiarly dependent upon Canterbury. As a mark of this dependence it was the custom for the monks of the priory of St. Andrew, on the death of a bishop of Rochester, to take the pastoral staff of the deceased prelate to Christ Church, Canterbury, where it was laid upon the high altar, whence the newly elected bishop took it after his consecration. The Rochester monks did not object to the custom in itself, but took exception to the claim made by the prior of Christ Church that the staff must be delivered to him as representing the church of Canterbury. In order to escape the humiliating ceremony after the death of Bishop Gualeran in 1185 they buried the staff in the bishop's grave. But the monks of Christ Church were at once up in arms. The rights of the mother-church, they insisted, must be maintained and the staff duly delivered to their prior.

The controversy, which is only mentioned as illustrative of the attitude the monks of Christ Church were beginning to assume, was at length settled by a compromise, whereby it was arranged that the archbishop should receive the staff and deliver it to the prior, by whom it should be placed on the high altar.

The claim put forward to the exclusive control of archiepiscopal elections was a far more important matter, but it was founded on the same preposterous argument that the privileges of the church of Canterbury resided in the monks of Christ Church, and in their body alone. Thus on the death of Archbishop Richard (February 16, 1184), without inviting any co-operation on the part of the bishops of the province, the convent proceeded to an election. Their choice fell upon Odo, abbot of Battle, who had been Prior of Canterbury at the time of Becket's murder. To

King Henry Odo's name recalled unpleasant reminiscences, and he not only refused point-blank to sanction the appointment, but in conversation with the Count of Flanders had some hard things to say about the Prior of Christ Church, whom he designated as a proud fellow who thought he could make archbishops at his will, and aimed at being a sort of second Pope in England.[1]

When at length it became evident that the election of their candidate could not be carried through, the monks reluctantly allowed Prior Alan to submit three other names to the bishops. The suffragans chose Baldwin, bishop of Worcester, and at once proceeded to celebrate their election without waiting to hear how their choice was received by the monks, who accordingly repudiated it altogether. It was in vain that the King sent his sons Geoffrey and John to persuade the convent to ratify the election. The monks remained obdurate, and Henry was himself constrained to visit Canterbury. To the brethren assembled in their Chapter-house the King protested that his action in the matter was dictated solely by his regard for the honour of their church and the peace of his realm. The proud monarch ended his speech on his knees, and with tears in his eyes besought the brethren to adopt a more reasonable attitude. In response to this passionate appeal the convent at length consented to ratify the election, and the King returned to London. But no sooner had he done so than news was brought to Canterbury that the King after all intended to regard the election as the work of the bishops alone. Prior Alan thereupon hurriedly set off to London, where during his interview with the King an incident occurred which brings out in a remarkable manner the nervousness which even such a monarch as Henry II could display when dealing with the monks of Canterbury. In reply to the Prior, who pleaded that Baldwin's election had been unduly made, the King declared that he could not now humiliate the bishops by repudiating it. Whereupon the Prior fainted away, and the King, thinking that he was about to give up the ghost, hastily called those about him to witness that he was in no way responsible for what had happened. He then called for water, and, dashing it in the Prior's face, addressed him thus, "Take heart, take heart, my lord prior, I spoke in jest. I will do all you say and more if you will only take heart and cheer up" (*confortare tantum et esto jucundus*).[1]

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[1] Gervase, *ut supra*, R.S., p. 313.

To the intense relief of the King, who doubtless feared that if the fit should have a fatal termination there would be a second Becket business upon his hands, the Prior speedily recovered his senses, and was able to resume his seat. But the day was won, and the King forthwith declared the election was irregular.

At length, on Baldwin notifying that he could on no account accept the see without the concurrence of the monks of Christ Church, Prior Alan had the grace to declare that their choice fell upon the bishop of Worcester, and Baldwin's election was celebrated by the singing of the *Te Deum* in the Abbey of Westminster.

The new Primate was a distinguished scholar and a man of singular sanctity, courage, and honesty, but, like Laud in after days, was sadly deficient in tact. Moreover, as a member of the Cistercian Order he had no very high opinion of the whole body of unreformed Benedictines, and regarded with peculiar disfavour the worldly temper and independent spirit displayed by the monks of his own cathedral church. Hence trouble speedily broke out between the convent and its titular head. On the anniversary of his election the Archbishop gave the first example of his want of tact by interfering in matters concerning the domestic economy of the house. It had been the custom for the tenants of the Christ Church manors to send presents to the monastery at the feasts of Christmas and Easter. These gifts, which were made in kind, comprised such things as game, fish, eggs, capons, and peahens, and were doubtless very welcome additions to the monastic fare at the festal seasons. To the ascetic mind of Baldwin these luxuries were abhorrent, and he gave orders that such things must no longer be brought into the monastery. A little later he still further offended the susceptibilities of the monks by taking into his own hands the profits of the rectories of Monkton, Eastry, Mepham, and Eynsford, which the monks alleged were appropriated to their almonry. This was more than they could stand, and they promptly appealed to Rome. The only reply the Archbishop made was to seize the monastic estates. Such a high-handed proceeding, however, gave rise to so much dissatisfaction, not only in the convent but throughout the country generally, that the Archbishop perceived that he had gone too far. The manors were therefore restored to the monks, who on their part withdrew their appeal. But Baldwin was only waiting for a more favourable opportunity. He had already sent his envoys to Rome, and the convent was astounded by the news that he had obtained from the Pope (Lucius III) a licence to found a new collegiate church at Hackington, a village situated only about half a mile from the cathedral church.

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[1] Gervase, *op. cit.* p. 324.

Although the Archbishop declared that he had no sinister design against the privileges of the monks, since his intention was merely to endow a college out of his own estates to be tenanted by men of learning, usefulness, and distinction, the monks at once suspected that the new foundation was meant to serve as an electoral college which would usurp the rights of their house in matters relating to archiepiscopal elections. Nor is it possible after examining the nature of the proposed foundation to resist the conclusion that it was intended to serve some such purpose. Thus the new church, which was to be dedicated in honour of St. Stephen and St. Thomas of Canterbury, was to be served by sixty or seventy canons. A stall was to be allotted to the King, and one to each bishop of the province, who were to appoint each his prebendary and vicar. The rest of the canons were to be chosen from those priests who held benefices in the gift of the archbishop or of the prior and convent of Christ Church.

The quarrel which now broke out was maintained with the utmost acrimony on both sides for the next six years, and excited both in England and upon the continent of Europe an interest which now seems quite disproportionate to the issues involved. In England the King and the bishops supported the Archbishop, while abroad Philip of France and Philip of Flanders sided with the monks. At Rome the College of Cardinals were divided in opinion, and as there were several changes in the occupancy of the Chair of St. Peter during the period, the policy of one Pope was frequently reversed by his successor.

The first appeal to the Curia was prompted by St. Thomas himself, who appeared in a vision to a monk named Andrew John, to whom he revealed the machinations of the Archbishop, declaring that it was his intention to remove the Patriarchal Seat to Hackington and utterly annihilate the privileges of the church of Canterbury. The gleaming sword which the saint held in his hand was inscribed *Gladius beati Petri apostoli*, and when on the morrow the monk told his dream it was not unnaturally interpreted to mean that the most effective weapon the convent could take would be the sword of St. Peter, or, in other words, an appeal to Rome. To Rome, then, Prior Honorius was sent, with the result that the licence to build at Hackington was revoked by Urban III. But the Archbishop merely selected a new site opposite to St. Dunstan's Church, beyond the west gate of the city, and there recommenced to erect his college. On Ash Wednesday 1187, the King himself came to Canterbury for the purpose of acting as arbitrator. He was accompanied by the Archbishop, the bishops of London, Norwich, Durham, and Worcester, the abbots of Westminster, St. Edmunds (Bury), and Peterborough, and a large number of earls and barons. The King, with the Archbishop and Hubert Walter, bishop of Norwich, and Peter of Blois, bishop of Durham (described by Gervase as the impudent fomenter of all the trouble), entered the chapter-house; but the monks, with the exception of the sub-Prior and five of the brethren, were excluded by order of the King.

"The little band," says Gervase, "took their seats and with bent heads but brave hearts waited like sheep appointed to the slaughter, while the Archbishop and the bishops stood opposite to them. A vast concourse of people were assembled, and those five monks were a spectacle to God, angels, and men. In the meantime the convent went to their prayers in the church. In the Old Testament the people fought while Moses prayed. But here, on the contrary, the sub-Prior conducted the struggle while the convent engaged in prayer."[1]

"The little band," however, did not adopt a particularly meek attitude in the controversy which ensued; on the contrary, they showed a very bold front, so that in spite of the efforts of the King to establish some compromise, the conference broke up without effecting anything.

At this juncture the archbishop still further increased his unpopularity in the convent by appointing a partisan of his own, and—if we may trust Gervase—a man of worthless character to the office of cellarer.[1]

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[1] Gervase, *ut supra*, p. 354.

Meanwhile Prior Honorius had at length induced the Pope to issue a mandate for the destruction of the obnoxious college, but before it could be served upon the Archbishop Pope Urban died, and with the election of his successor came a change of policy, with the result that the monks seemed as far off as ever from obtaining the powers they desired.

A further source of trouble was the demand which the King now made that the treasure of their church should be enrolled, and that the conventual seal should be put into closer custody. The sub-prior replied that as to treasure the chief part consisted of the relics of saints, books, charters, and the sacred vessels and vestments, and that such things could not be publicly displayed. As for the convent seal, it was already under four keys. Matters now took a very serious turn for the monks. Certain partisans of the Archbishop, headed by William FitzNigel (who had been an accessory in the murder of St. Thomas), broke a passage through the precinct wall, and thus managed to occupy all the offices in the court. Amongst the people the report was spread abroad that the Archbishop intended to disperse the convent by taking six or ten monks off at a time in waggons and dropping them at various places. The celebration of divine service was suspended, and the convent practically placed in a state of siege. Roger Norreys, the intruded cellarer, realising that things might now be pleasanter outside than inside the walls, escaped from the convent through the great main drain, which discharged into the city ditch—a way out which Gervase hints was well suited to his character. Norreys at once sought out the Archbishop, whom he found at Otford, and revealed to him all the capitular secrets.[1]

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[1] Gervase calls him a proud, crafty fellow, of pompous speech, an associate of women, a lover of horses, and altogether a person of incorrigible behaviour. Gervase, *ut supra*, p. 382.

The siege of the monastery was now so strictly maintained that the wretched monks would have perished of hunger had it not been for the sympathy of the citizens, who for eighty-four weeks managed to smuggle into the precincts a supply of provisions just sufficient to keep them alive. Even the Jews of Canterbury contributed something, and prayed for the imprisoned monks in their synagogues every Sabbath day.

So important a place did the struggle at Canterbury fill in the minds of both king and people, that even at the great Council of Geddington, which met on February 11, 1188, for the purpose of making arrangements for a fresh crusade, the matter was brought forward. Baldwin strongly urged the king to effect the arrest of the sub-prior of Christ Church, who lay under sentence of excommunication, but Henry, apprehensive that such a course might lead to violence, and dreading above all things that further blood should be shed in the Cathedral church, in his name, was all for caution.

Meanwhile there had been another change in the papacy, and the new Pope (Clement III), reversing the policy of his predecessor, confirmed the letters apostolic of Urban III, and addressed his mandate to the Abbot of Faversham and Master Feramin, who had been a member of Becket's household and was now Master of St. James's Hospital at Canterbury, bidding them fulminate sentence of excommunication against the invaders of the monastic estates. This at once removed the pressure, and the monks of Christ Church prepared to resume divine service, which had been discontinued while the convent was in a state of siege. Accordingly the church was redressed with the hangings and ornaments which for some months had been hidden away; and on Easter Sunday the usual services were held—the only sign of mourning being the silence of the organ, which, as Gervase tells us, was not used, to mark the fact that excommunicated persons were still in possession of the conventual estates.

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[1] Gervase, p. 404.

The papal mandate, however, was disregarded alike by king, archbishop, secular clergy and people. And the death of Prior Honorius, who was carried off by the plague together with several members of the sacred college favourable to his cause, still further depressed the cause of the convent at Rome.

But the pertinacity of the brethren was invincible. Notwithstanding the fact that the king was in France, engaged in a war with Philip, the monks continued to follow him about, and at the most inconvenient moments appeared with their tale of the Archbishop's misdoings. Thus, it was extremely trying to a monarch of Henry's temper to find a deputation of Christ Church monks waiting for him at Azay immediately after he had been compelled to submit to the terms of the French king. Henry was in no mood to listen to their complaints, and the inoffensive remark that the convent "came to greet him as their lord" was sufficient to make him break out into one of his fits of ungovernable passion. "I have been your lord, I am, and I will be, ye wicked traitors!" he cried. "Get you hence with all speed, I will hold converse with my faithful subjects." These were the last words he addressed to the monks of Christ Church, from whom, it must be confessed, he had suffered much provocation. A few days later he died at Chinon (July 6, 1189).

After the death of the king the quarrel between Baldwin and the monks was patched up for a few weeks; but in the autumn of the same year it broke out again with renewed violence owing to the extraordinary lack of tact which the Archbishop displayed in appointing the obnoxious Roger Norreys to the priorate of Christ Church. It now occurred to the convent that a little judicious bribery might induce King Richard to take a favourable view of their case, and to this end they made him a present of 500 marks. This was so far successful that the king consented to investigate the matter. Arbitrators were appointed, and it seemed that at length some *modus vivendi* might be reached. But negotiations were again interrupted owing to the tergiversations of the monks, who, after accepting the proposed terms, refused to ratify them until they had been submitted to the whole convent. At this unexpected reverse the king was very angry, and exclaimed with an oath, "Not a single foot of your property shall be left." The monastery was again placed in a state of siege, and not only were all food-supplies stopped, but gross insults were offered to pilgrims seeking the shrine of St. Thomas.

An unfortunate monk who was caught in the churchyard was mounted upon a horse and, with his legs tied beneath the belly of the steed, was taken off to prison, where, chained to common malefactors, he nearly perished of cold and hunger. Indeed, it was reported that the Archbishop contemplated ejecting the monks altogether and instituting secular clerks in their place. The consideration that this might be their fate at length induced the monks to adopt a more conciliatory attitude, and on the arrival of the royal officers they expressed themselves willing to submit their cause to arbitration.

On November 27 King Richard himself came to Canterbury, and was received by the bishops of England and the monks of Christ Church. In the Cathedral a solemn service was performed, which, Gervase tells us, was accompanied by organ-playing and the singing of anthems. The scene was a notable one even in a place which has witnessed many a stately pageant, both before and since, for within the walls of the church were assembled not only the King of England, but the King of Scotland with his brother David, and " a vast number of nobles, both spiritual and lay." So great was the concourse of all sorts and conditions of men that the chronicler states that the strain upon the hospitality of the convent was so great that some of the " royal pavilions " had to be erected in the monastic cloister.[1] On the next day the King deputed the Archbishop of Rouen to act as mediator between the contending parties.

But the task of effecting a reconciliation was still difficult, since the monks would listen to no terms which did not include the demolition of the Hackington College and the deposition of Prior Norreys. At length the Archbishop yielded on both the above points, the monks on their part undertaking that on all others they would submit themselves to their titular head. For Norreys Baldwin found preferment as Abbot of Evesham, where (according to the Canterbury chronicler) he lived a life of shameless profligacy, which fully justified the opinion which the Canterbury monks seem to have formed of his character.

Baldwin now retired to Lambeth, where by an exchange of lands with the Bishop of Rochester he had already acquired an estate, and to the consternation of the monks began to cart the materials of the deserted college at Hackington to the new site. Foreseeing that the convent would at once renew their appeal to Rome, the Archbishop forestalled them by taking that course himself; and after publishing his appeal in his Cathedral church, he took from its altar the staff and wallet of a pilgrim and set off to join the king in the Holy Land, where he died in the following November, " overwhelmed with grief and despair," and was buried at Acre.

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[1] "Tanta itaque convenit multitudo conditionis diversæ, quanta nunquam retroactis temporibus visa est adeo ut in claustro monachorum regis tentoria ponerentur." (Gervase, *op. cit.* p. 474.)

It would be wearisome to relate with the same fulness of detail the manner in which the struggle was maintained by Hubert Walter, who (after the brief primacy of Reginald FitzJocelyn) succeeded to the chair of St. Augustine. Suffice it to say that the old trouble was revived by the determination of Hubert to complete the church at Lambeth which Baldwin had commenced. It was in vain that the Archbishop offered ample security that his new foundation would in no way prejudice the rights and privileges of the mother church. In order to reassure the monks on this point he was ready to guarantee that every new canon of Lambeth should take oath upon the altar of the Cathedral church that he would do nothing to injure her rights nor be a party to any scheme for the translation of the bishop's see or of the relics of St. Thomas to any other church. Moreover, in order that peace and brotherly love might be more firmly established between the members of the two foundations, he proposed that the first stall at Lambeth in choir and chapter-house should be reserved for the prior of Canterbury, who might take part in all deliberations of the canons and wear their habit as long as he was resident among them. These concessions, however, by no means allayed the suspicions of the monks of Christ Church, who persisted in regarding the scheme as a menace to their privileges. It was in vain that the king took the new church under his protection and seized the conventual estates. The long arm of Rome was again stretched out and both king and archbishop went down before it. The mandate of the Pope, which reached England on November 20, 1198, was a document of portentous length, but its meaning was perfectly clear: the scheme must be abandoned definitely and the Lambeth College rased to the ground. And to this sentence Hubert was compelled to bow.

"The foundations of Hackington and Lambeth," says Bishop Stubbs, "may be looked upon as the last attempt to utilise the properties of the monasteries before the Reformation. It failed signally, and the need at the moment was satisfied within a few years by the introduction of the mendicant orders who undertook the religious revival of the people . . . The monastic body had sacrificed the opportunity of doing good work to the triumph of a moment. The great prize of their ambition fell from their hands. The position henceforth occupied by the monks of Canterbury—and their state and weight may be taken as a fair criterion of the whole system—was void of all political importance, their action in the election of the primate was merely nominal; in spite of many attempts to elect men of their own order, only once more did a monk fill the throne of Augustine. With the exception of Simon Langham, whose merits were by no means those of a monastic saint, Baldwin was the last monk that governed the Church of England."[1]

C. E. W.

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[1] Introduction to "Epistolæ Cantuarienses," R. S. vol. xxxviii.

Capital in the Crypt

CHAPTER VII

FROM THE GREAT EXILE TO THE DEATH OF PRIOR HENRY OF EASTRY

1207—1331

ARCHBISHOP HUBERT, during the remaining years of his pontificate, refrained from engaging in any further passages of arms with the prior and convent of Christ Church, who grew to regard him with reverence and affection.

Gervase tells us that on June 29, 1205, he celebrated high mass in his Cathedral church; and on July 6 he affectionately addressed the monks in the chapter-house. Alluding to the possibility of his own death, he asked and bestowed forgiveness for any offences. The members of the convent wept at his departure for Teynham manor house. There on July 11 he was seized with fatal illness. Having summoned Gilbert de Glanville, Bishop of Rochester, and Geoffrey, Prior of Christ Church, he made his will, bequeathing to the convent of Christ Church much valuable plate and many rich vestments. He died on July 13, and on the following day was buried by the monks with many tears and lamentations in his church at Canterbury. The position of his grave is not mentioned by Gervase, but a MS. in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, which once belonged to Archbishop Parker, states that Hubert Walter was buried "near the shrine of St. Thomas, under a window on the south side." Only one tomb in the Cathedral is in this position—namely, that with a roof-like top, on which are sculptured four human heads in high relief.

In the last century, and earlier, tradition associated this tomb with the body of Archbishop Theobald, although its architectural details are clearly of a later date. In order to set matters at rest, this tomb was opened in 1890, and the name of Hubert was found upon a leaden tablet within. When the lid of the stone coffin was removed the desiccated body of the Archbishop, arrayed in full pontificals, was disclosed. All that had been made of linen or wool had perished, but the silken vestments, which are exquisite specimens of the art of the weavers and embroiderers of the twelfth century, were well preserved. The coffin also contained the Archbishop's ring, set with a gnostic gem engraved with a serpent and the name of the god *Knuphis;* the pastoral staff of cedar wood, in the knop of which were three carved gems (a fourth had fallen out); and a chalice and paten, both of silver, parcel gilt, the latter engraved with the *Agnus Dei* and inscribed on its outer rim with the elegiac couplet:

Ava crucis, tumulique calyx lapidisque patena
Stridonis officium candida bissus habet.

Which has been Englished thus by the late Canon Francis Holland:

The altar duly to our eyes, brings the cross of sacrifice
So the chalice' fruitful womb, is the emblem of the Tomb,
And the Paten thereupon, shows the sealed sepulchral stone,
Whilst the Corporal o'er the Bread, is the napkin at the Head.

The vestments have been placed in a glass case in the chapter library, and the other relics are preserved in the little chantry chapel on the north side of the retro-choir. It was thought at the time that the artistic value of the various objects the coffin contained might condone for the rifling of the tomb. But it is perhaps a matter for regret that they were not reverently replaced after photographs had been taken, especially since the artistic value of the various objects is illustrated quite adequately in the magnificent facsimiles published by the Society of Antiquaries in their *Vetusta Monumenta*.

The death of Archbishop Hubert, who during the latter years of his life had acted as Chancellor of England, removed the one restraining influence over King John, and it was not long before the monks of Christ Church had a foretaste of what they might now expect from his predatory instincts. For no sooner did the king hear of the death of the Primate than he hastened to Canterbury. It was not his first visit by any means; indeed, he had been crowned by Hubert, together with his Queen Consort, in the metropolitical church four years earlier. If the prior and convent thought that his present purpose was merely to condole with them for the loss they had sustained, they were speedily undeceived, for the king soon managed to turn the conversation towards the effects of the late Primate. "His *chapel*, for instance" (that is, the sacred vessels and vestments which the Archbishop had been in the habit of taking about the diocese with him), "had not its ornaments cost three hundred marks or more?" The prior said that this was so. "Might he be permitted to see them?" The prior could not very well refuse, and the king, after admiring the treasures displayed, calmly ordered them to be packed up, and took them off to Winchester.

This was a bad beginning, but the monks of Christ Church were shortly to experience much worse things at the hands of King John. It is, however, impossible to overlook the fact that the fate that overtook them was not a little due to their own conduct in the matter of the election of a successor to Hubert, which might well have exasperated a better-tempered monarch than John Lackland.

Thus, even before the body of the late Archbishop was buried, the junior monks held a secret meeting in the chapter-house by night; elected Reginald, the sub-prior to the vacant see; and, conscious that their action was irregular, at once despatched him to Rome for confirmation. On his arrival, however, the sub-prior found himself confronted with an envoy from the suffragans, who of course opposed his candidature. Moreover, the monks of Christ Church, learning that Reginald had violated the vow of secrecy to which he had been bound, by publicly proclaiming himself as the elect of Canterbury, withdrew their support.

A fresh election, in which the monks acted conjointly with the bishops of the province, resulted in the choice of the king's nominee, John de Gray, bishop of Norwich, who was forthwith enthroned in the presence of the king.

John was so much pleased with this compliancy on the part of the monks that he not only paid the travelling expenses of six of the brethren who were to go to Rome for the purpose of getting the election confirmed, but in order to expedite matters in the Curia, handed to the envoys the enormous sum of eleven thousand marks. It is therefore scarcely surprising to learn that when the king heard that the Pope, without any reference to himself, had set aside his candidate in favour of Stephen Langton, and that the monks of Christ Church had acquiesced in this arrangement, his rage was great. In an ungovernable fit of passion John declared that the monks were guilty of treason; that they had received money from his treasury under false pretences, but it should be the last time, for he would turn them out of their house neck and crop—nay, if they did not move quickly he would burn them out. In terror and confusion, the monks withdrew before the armed bands of the sheriff. "Barefoot, amid the tears and sobs of the bystanders, seventy Benedictines and one hundred lay brothers took leave of their church and cloister and passed the sea into Flanders; thirteen from age and sickness were unable to accompany them. . . . No sooner had they set foot on shore than they were met by the pious Count of Gisnes, who brought them to his castle, set food before them, served them with his own hands, and provided beasts and waggons to carry them to St. Omers . . . where the whole body found entertainment and consolation for twelve days with the brethren of St. Bertins. The prior with sixteen of his monks remained there a whole year ; the rest were quartered in the religious houses of the neighbourhood."[1]

Meanwhile, since public opinion demanded that the daily offices should not wholly cease, the king transferred to the deserted cloister a few monks from the neighbouring Benedictine monastery of St. Augustine. But the services of these imported brethren could not have been required for long, since all spiritual acts were shortly afterwards suspended by an interdict.

The memorable struggle between King John and Pope Innocent III. forms a familiar chapter of English history, but need not here detain us since we are concerned only with its effect upon the monks of Christ Church. In the end John was compelled, under the pressure brought to bear by Pandulph, the papal legate, to promise that he would allow to the church of Canterbury the right of free election, and that he would indemnify the exiled monks for all losses incurred through his tyrannous conduct. But since the king's promises were notoriously worthless, their performance was guaranteed by twelve of the most powerful barons of the kingdom, who further embodied their intention in an instrument to which each set his seal. The document was then sent to the banished monks, who, fortified by its possession, now ventured to return. They recrossed the straits of Dover on June 15, 1213, but the sea passage was too much for the aged prior, who died when in sight of the white cliffs of his native land. The rest, after an absence of six years, found themselves once more safely housed under the shadow of the great church. The guarantee of the barons was, of course, carefully preserved, and may still be seen amongst the Cathedral archives with its appendant seals.

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[1] Stephen Langton, in Newman's "Lives of the English Saints," p. 26, London, 1844.

Notwithstanding the fact that during the greater part of the exile England had been under the interdict, pilgrimages to the tomb of St. Thomas had not wholly ceased, for the prior of St. Martin's, Dover, who appears to have been entrusted with the custody of the offerings while the rightful guardians of the tomb were on the Continent, was now able to hand over to them £245 10s., which sum represented the offerings made during six years. This shows that during that period pilgrimages to Canterbury had been comparatively infrequent. Nor did the receipts from this source show any material increase during the remaining years of the disastrous reign of King John. The part played by the patriotic Langton in the great political crisis which ended at Runnymede is well known, but upon the quiet life of the monks in the Cathedral cloister the only mark of those troublous times is to be found in the scanty offerings made at the tomb of St. Thomas.[1]

The accession of Henry III in 1216 brought more settled times, and the offerings speedily rose to their normal figure. Four years later the monks resolved to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the death of St. Thomas by the translation of his relics to a magnificent new shrine in the retro-choir; but of the shrine and the remarkable ceremony which accompanied the translation we have already given a description.

The enormous impetus given to the cult of St. Thomas by the translation of his relics in 1220 pro-

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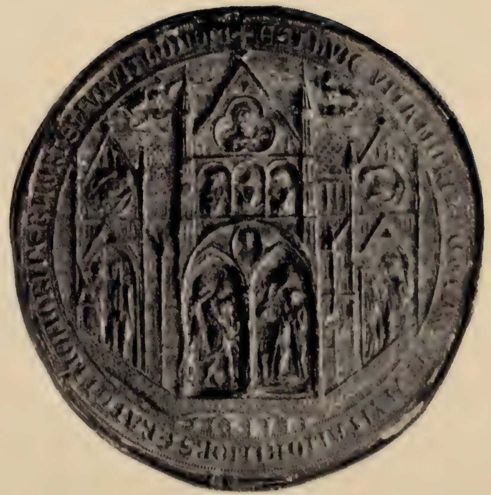
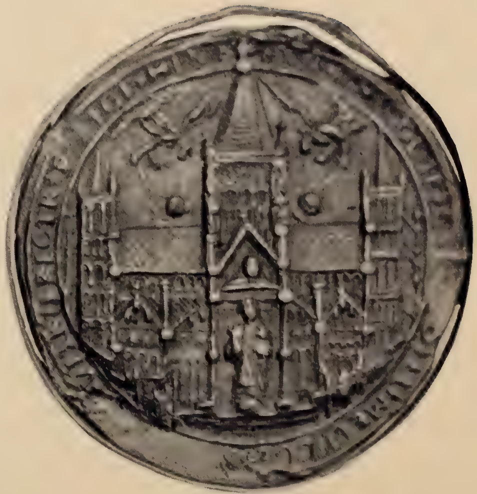
[1] In 1216, when John's mercenaries were ravaging the county of Kent, only £41 was received at the tomb in the crypt.



THIRD SEAL OF THE PRIOR AND CONVENT (*c.* 1221)
Reverse. Showing the Martyrdom of St. Thomas



SEAL OF THE DEAN AND CHAPTER, 1540

duced in the monks an overwhelming sense of gratitude towards the saint whose merits were such a valuable financial asset to their house. Hence they now decided that the time had come for their ancient conventual seal to be superseded by another on which should appear a representation of the "Martyrdom." Accordingly on the new seal which was now made this scene took the place of the seated figure of our Saviour, and for the old legend on the reverse, "EGO SUM VIA VERITAS ET VITA," the following words were substituted: "EST HUIC VITA MORI PRO QUA DUM VIXIT AMORI. MORS ERAT ET MEMORI PER MORTEM VIVIT HONORI." From the treasurer's accounts we learn that in 1221 the convent paid 3s. 1d. "for setting up a little house in which the goldsmith might fashion the new seal."[1] A new matrix seems also to have been made twelve years later, since in 1233 £7 6s. 8d. was paid for making a new seal.[2]

It was at this period that the Franciscan friars first entered England. The pioneers of the order landed at Dover in the month of September 1224, and at once made their way to Canterbury, where they knocked at the great gate of the priory of Christ Church and claimed alms and hospitality of the monks. Being armed with letters of recommendation from Pope Honorius, the little party (which consisted of four clerks and five lay brothers) was at once admitted and for two days the strangers were hospitably but somewhat contemptuously entertained. But the friars had come to stay, since in less than fifty years a Franciscan was appointed to read a divinity lecture in Canterbury Cathedral, and before the end of the said century a member of the order (John Peckham) had attained to the primacy itself.

The financial position of the priory was now so strong that the monks were able to spend much money upon their church and convent. To the former the most notable addition was the magnificent stained glass which was now placed in the windows surrounding the shrine and in the corona. These windows illustrate scenes in the life of St. Thomas and the miracles connected with his cult. Happily, much of the glass still remains *in situ*, and some description of these windows will be given later. In the court the building operations included a new *refectorium* or Frater House, and very extensive alterations to the cloister.

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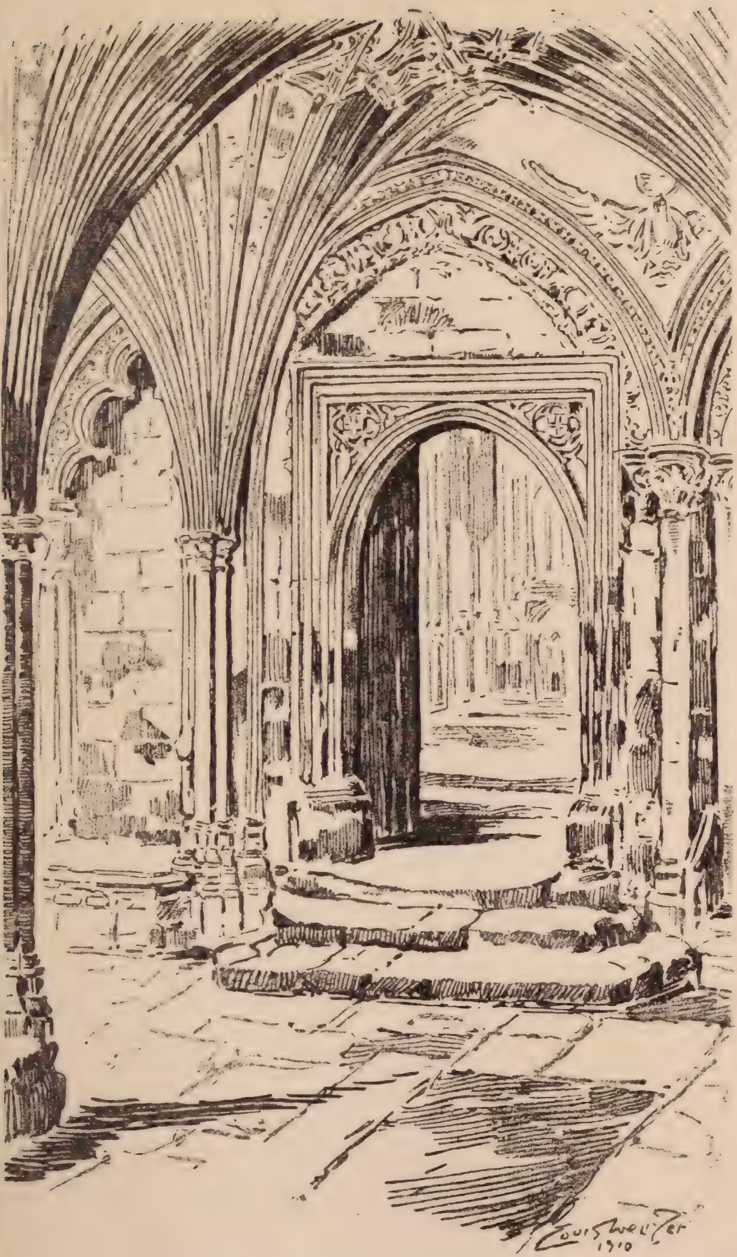
[1] "Pro quadam domuncula paranda ad opus suum aurifabri ad faciendum novum sigillum iii^{s} i^{d}."

[2] "In opere novi sigilli vij^{li} vi^{s} viii^{d}."

The work to the Frater was begun in the year 1226, when, as the treasurer's accounts show, more than £100 was spent upon it; and the work went forward during the next ten years, under the supervision of brother John Pikenot. Of the Frater, which (as is usual in Benedictine houses) was upon the north side of the cloister, little now remains. But a portion of its eastern wall (in the garden of the prebendal house now occupied by the Bishop of Dover) still shows the Early English ashlar work of Pikenot's masons. Far more important examples of their skill, however, are afforded by the three doorways in the cloister which were inserted at this period. Of the two finely moulded doorways in the north alley, that towards the west opened into the vestibule of the refectorium; while that to the east (now blocked up) led through the vaults beneath that building into the kitchen court. The third doorway is that placed at the angle of the south and east alleys of the cloister, and opens into the transept of the martyrdom. It was through this entry that Becket entered the church on the fateful December 29, 1170, and doubtless the memory of that fact stirred the craftsmen to put forth here their highest efforts. Unfortunately, when the cloister was rebuilt in the fifteenth century, this splendid doorway was ruthlessly cut about and overlaid with later work; but even in its present mutilated condition it is a thing of surpassing beauty.



The Cloister Doorway, leading to the "Martyrdom" transept

The amount of money spent upon the cloister shows that the work here must have been of an extensive nature, and was not confined to the northern alley, which alone has retained the trefoiled arcading of the thirteenth century on its inner wall. From the large sums spent on timber and carpenters' wages it would seem that at this time the cloister also received a new roof. The work was apparently finished in 1236, since from an entry in the treasurer's accounts we learn that 27s. 1d. was paid in this year for whitewashing the cloister. Perhaps against the visit of King Henry III, who came to Canterbury in the above year, and was crowned in the Cathedral church by Archbishop Edmond.

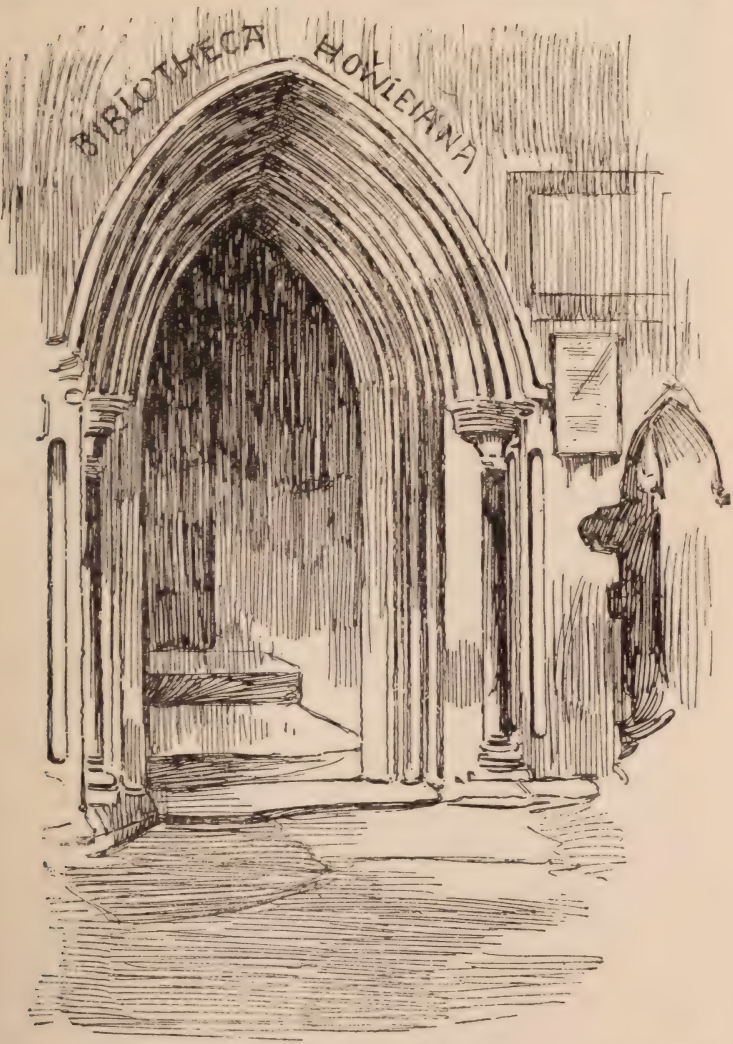
With the latter prelate, in spite of his saintly character, the monks of Christ Church were soon embroiled. The first occasion of discord was a dispute as to their respective rights, jurisdictions and customs. In order to bolster up their case some of the monks even went the length of tampering with the records in their muniment chest. The matter was deemed so serious that an inquiry was held by a papal legate, with the result that brother Bartholomew of Sandwich confessed that he had burned a charter—presumably one that supported the claims of the Archbishop. Another of the monks, one Simon of Hartlip, admitted that he had accidentally destroyed a charter of St. Thomas, and further alleged that the prior (John de Chatham) had rewritten it word for word, and that brother Ralph of Orpington had then affixed the old seal to the new charter!

In consequence of these revelations brother Bartholomew was sent off to the monastery of St. Peter at Westminster; brother Simon was allowed to return to Christ Church, but at his own request was shortly afterwards transferred to another house; and Prior John resigned his office and joined the Carthusians. Over the election of his successor there was more trouble. The choice of the convent fell upon Roger de la Lee, but the Archbishop refused to sanction the appointment, and upon the monks assuming a contumacious attitude he solemnly excommunicated them. The struggle need not be followed in detail. It will be enough to say that the monks paid little or no regard to the ban of the Archbishop, who, seeing that he could get no support either from the king or the Pope, retired to the monastery of Pontigny, where he died on November 16, 1240. Six years later he was canonised as St. Edmund of Canterbury, and an altar in the crypt of his Cathedral church was dedicated to him, at which King Edward I made an offering in the year 1297, but its exact position has not been ascertained.

Roger de la Lee, to whose election to the priorate Archbishop Edmund took exception, resigned his office before the latter's death. But an example of work carried out under his auspices is still preserved in the substructure of what is now the Howley-Harrison library, but which until the middle of the seventeenth century supported the prior's private chapel. The vaulted roof of this ambulatory and the four central pillars from which the groining shafts sprang have long since been destroyed, and Roger de la Lee's work, which must have been executed before his resignation of the priorate in 1244, is now represented only by the outer walls with their unglazed window-like openings.

The chapel above was not erected until at least twenty years later, when Roger of St. Alphege was prior. An entry in the treasurer's accounts shows that it was in process of construction in the year 1254. It was dedicated to Our Lady and served by two chaplains, and at a later date at any rate possessed an organ and a choir of surpliced choristers. After the suppression of the monastery the chapel was allotted to the dean, but was demolished by order of the sequestrators during the Commonwealth period.

So that all that now remains of the work of Prior Roger of St. Alphege is the finely moulded western



Western Doorway of the Prior's Chapel. c. 1254

doorway, which now forms the entrance to the Howley-Harrison library.

On the death of Archbishop Edmund, the Pope appointed to the primacy Boniface of Savoy, uncle to Queen Eleanor. The monks of Christ Church offered no opposition to his election; perhaps they imagined that a prelate so highly connected, and a foreigner to boot, would consider the affairs of the monastery beneath his notice and would allow them a free hand. Boniface, however, soon showed that he did not intend to rule as King Log. Being in want of money to pay off the debts incurred by his predecessors, he hit upon the expedient of holding visitations, at which he exacted heavy fines for all irregularities of conduct. The monks of his own Cathedral church did not escape, and so heavily did he mulct them for breaches of their rule that the convent was compelled to mortgage six of its best manors to pay their debts.

At length matters were brought to a crisis by Boniface citing to his manor-house at Tenham two monks who had been guilty of flagrant misconduct. The Prior replied that all offenders against the rule should be dealt with and corrected in the Chapter-house at Canterbury and not elsewhere; and when the Archbishop remained obdurate, appealed to Rome.

The whole process is set forth on a parchment roll of prodigious length, which is still preserved amongst the cathedral archives. This document (which has never been published) contains so many curious particulars that we are tempted to give here a short summary of its contents. It begins with a copy of a letter from Boniface to Prior Roger peremptorily summoning him to appear at Tenham to answer for his neglect to carry out his instructions (delivered at a recent visitation) that brother Hugh de Cretinge, who, *super lapsu carnis*, had broken bounds and associated with undesirable characters outside the convent, should be strictly confined to the cloister.

The certificate of William, rector of St. Martin's and dean (rural) of Canterbury, follows, describing the efforts he made to serve the above summons. He went to the convent early in the morning, but found that the Prior had gone off to Seasalter for the day; the monks on his approach hid in corners and dodged behind the pillars of the church, so that he could not get near them, and in the end had to be content with reading the citation in the Prior's lodging, and again before the high altar of the church. Then comes a statement of the case of the monks, set forth at great length, for the use of the proctors who were to plead their cause in the Roman Curia. But the surprising thing is that the convent chose as their proctor the monk who had caused all the trouble!

The document next describes the manner in which notice of the appeal was served upon the Archbishop. Boniface, who was at his manor-house at Tenham, on hearing that two Christ Church monks wanted to see him, retired to an inner apartment and refused either to come out or admit the monks, who in consequence had to content themselves with reading the appeal at the top of their voices in the hope that in this way its tenor might reach the ears of the Archbishop. At length Boniface did come out, and met the proctors in the hall, but by an unfortunate slip of the tongue their spokesman at once ruffled his temper by saying, "The Lord preserve the Archbishop of Canterbury," instead of the usual formula, "The Lord preserve our lord archbishop." It was in vain that the proctors pleaded that no disrespect was meant, and that the mistake was a mere slip due to the unfamiliarity of a simple monk with the usages of his Grace's court. Boniface merely snarled, "Yes, simple fellows you are, but clever enough in mischief," and brusquely bade them begone.

The roll then goes on to relate how on the next day the Archbishop came to Canterbury and asked to be allowed to say a few words in the Chapter-house, assuring the monks that it was not his intention to allude in any way to domestic affairs. The brethren, however, were suspicious, remembering that Archbishop Edmund had under a like pretence obtained access to the Chapter-house and had thereupon removed from his office their sub-prior. They therefore respectfully declined to give the requisite permission, on the ground that it would be improper for the Archbishop to enter the Chapter-house while their suit was pending. Greatly enraged, Boniface exclaimed, "To-morrow I will enter the Chapter-house and whenever I please, and I give you warning that I will excommunicate the first man who tries to hinder me!" On the morrow, however, he left Canterbury without attempting to carry his threat into execution.

Instructions for the use of the proctors follow. The most curious are those relating to the way in which they should distribute the money which the convent provided for prosecuting their suit in the Curia. Thus they are warned not to fritter it away in bribes to the cardinals indiscriminately, but to give the greater part to the Pope himself, and the remainder to those members of the Sacred College who were known to be well affected towards their cause. Moreover, an expression of regret is added that the sum available for this purpose was not larger, supplemented by the pious hope that the success of their suit may not thereby be prejudiced. From other sources we learn that the matter was ended by a composition, less favourable to the monastic party than some previous ones had been. So that perhaps the result *was* to some extent influenced by the lack of adequate "refreshers." The Barons' War, however, soon distracted the attention of both parties from these petty jealousies; and Boniface before his death had so far forgotten the contumacious conduct of the Prior and convent that he bequeathed to them a suit of vestments and one hundred marks.

Over the election of his successor there was more trouble. The monks chose their Prior, Adam Chillenden, but his candidature was opposed by Prince Edward on the ground that Chillenden in the civil war had sided with the barons. Whether this was so or not we do not know, but the charge was repudiated by the monks, who, in a petition to the College of Cardinals (the Papal chair being vacant), asserted that their Prior had done much for the royal cause by lending money to the Queen, and that after the defeat of the King at Lewes Prince Edward had himself found shelter and entertainment within the walls of their house. The candidature of Chillenden, however, as well as that of Robert Burnell, the King's nominee, was set aside by Pope Gregory X in favour of Robert Kilwardby, a Dominican friar, who was consecrated on February 26, 1273.

During the two and a half years which elapsed between the death of Boniface and the consecration of Kilwardby the Prior and convent of Christ Church (as guardians of the spiritualities) held visitations and heard appeals from the rulings of the ecclesiastical courts throughout the whole southern province. The latter prerogative was, of course, peculiarly irritating to the suffragan bishops, whose judgments were sometimes set aside by a court of whose constitution and impartiality they had no high opinion. To Grosseteste, the independent-spirited bishop of Lincoln, the interposition of a body of monks between himself and his diocese was intolerable, and he soon showed that he would have none of it. For when the court of the Prior and convent ventured to reverse one of his judgments he refused to rehear the case; and when a summons was served upon him to appear in the Prior's court to purge his contempt, he trod the obnoxious document under his feet, although (as the awestruck Canterbury chronicler relates with bated breath) its seal actually bore a representation of the martyrdom of St. Thomas!

It was during Kilwardby's archiepiscopate that a very serious feud broke out between the citizens of Canterbury and the Christ Church monks, through the refusal of the latter to bear their proportion of an assessment laid upon the city by the King for his Welsh campaign. The citizens were furious at being left to bear the burden alone, and passed a series of bellicose resolutions threatening the monks with the direst penalties unless they paid their quota. No citizen would occupy any house owned by the convent; no supplies of provisions should enter the precincts; to prevent all ingress or egress, a deep trench should be dug before the great gate of the monastery. There was even a thinly disguised threat that they would loot the shrine of St. Thomas himself, since the document in which the above resolutions are recorded ends with these ominous words: "That every one of these commons shall wear on his finger a ring of gold that belonged to St. Thomas." Fortunately the danger was averted by the tactful mediation of the Archbishop, and an amicable relationship between the city and convent was once more established.

Thomas Ringmere, who was Prior at the time of the above incident, was probably not a little to blame for the unpatriotic attitude of the monks, for he was a singularly impracticable person. Although a man of learning and sanctity, he lacked those qualities which even in a monastery are essential for successful rule. Soon after his election he attempted to improve the discipline of the house, which he found in a lax condition, but he only succeeded in incurring the odium of the brethren without effecting the amendment of their manners.

At length he became the object of so much aversion that the monks trumped up a number of charges against him for the purpose of forcing him to resign his office. To these charges Ringmere returned dignified answers. Thus to the objection that he was too guileless a person to have the rule of so important a house, he replied, "Would God it were true! for He ever resisteth the proud and giveth grace to the simple." To the more serious charge that he had converted to his own use the moneys of the convent, he answered that he had indeed given twenty pounds to the King, but that for this he had the consent of the brethren, as the conventual books would show. But although he had no difficulty in proving that the specific charges made against him were without foundation, Ringmere felt that it would be well for him to lay down a thankless office for which he felt himself to be by temperament unfitted. He therefore resigned the priorate and, leaving Canterbury, became an inmate of the Cistercian abbey at Beaulieu in Hampshire. Later he became a hermit in Windsor Forest, and at length, his mind being now quite unhinged, he became dependent upon the bounty of Archbishop Winchelsey. A curious letter is extant amongst the cathedral archives in which Winchelsey suggests to Ringmere's successor at Christ Church that the convent should do something to relieve the destitution of the ex-Prior, and hints that it was hardly seemly that the poor man should be neglected by one who owed his preferment to the latter's abdication. The hint was taken, and for the rest of his life Ringmere received from Christ Church a pension of ten pounds a year.

Henry of Eastry, to whom the above letter was addressed, was elected to the priorate on the feast of the Translation of St. Thomas (July 7), 1284. He continued to preside over the house for more than forty-six years, and during his long term of office the fortunes of the convent probably attained to high-water mark. Endowed with an infinite capacity of taking pains, Prior Eastry left his mark upon every department of monastic administration. His talent for finance must have been immense, for although he found the church burdened with a debt of nearly five thousand pounds, he was able (thirty-seven years later, when at the age of eighty-two he believed himself to be near his end and was anxious to give an account of his stewardship) to draw up a financial statement in which he showed that, although the expenditure during those thirty-seven years had exceeded the sum of £21,000—equivalent to more than £400,000 at the present day—the church was entirely free from debt. A long list of Eastry's good works is inscribed in the monastic registers,[1] and has been printed by Willis.[2] Those which relate to additions to the fabric of the church and monastery may be summed up briefly as follows:

(1) 1292. "A new great clock," which cost £30, was placed in the church. Its position is not stated, but from the fact that in Leland's time there was a "stately *Horologe*, in the south crossed Isle of the Chirche," it would seem likely that Eastry's clock was placed in the south-west transept, and was perhaps supported by the stone bracket which formerly stood over the arch of St. Michael's Chapel.[3]

(2) A new room beyond the treasury (*ultra Thesaurarium*). This was probably the narrow oblong apartment which abutted on the west wall of the treasury, and of the chapel of St. Andrew, known in post-Reformation times as the old audit-house. It was pulled down in the first quarter of the eighteenth

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[1] Register I, f. 212, &c.

[2] "History of the Conventual Buildings," *op. cit.* p. 185, &c.

[3] Leland says that, according to tradition, the clock was given to the church by Cardinal Langton; but it is unlikely that there was any clock in England at so early a date. In Dart's view of the nave, published in 1726, a clock is shown over the western entrance to the choir. It was removed in 1760.

century, but some portions of its sub-vaults still remain.

(3) 1298. New stalls for the monks in the choir. There was a double row of thirty-five stalls on either side of the choir. The easternmost stall on the south side formed the throne of the Archbishop, while the opposite stall on the north side was occupied by the Prior; hence the stalls on the Archbishop's side were called at Canterbury the stalls of the *superior* choir, and those upon the Prior's side the stalls of the *inferior* choir. It is doubtful whether at this period there were any return stalls, facing east, at Canterbury.[1] From the absence of any entries in the treasurer's accounts relating to the erection of stalls at a later date, it would seem that Eastry's stalls survived until the opening years of the eighteenth century, when the double row of ancient stalls was replaced by wainscot pewing. From a picture of the choir painted before the above alteration was made, the stalls appear to have been plain elbow-seats without canopies.[2]

(4) 1304. "The repair of the whole choir, with three new doors, and a new screen (*pulpitum*)."

Eastry's work in the choir comprised the delicate and elaborately worked tracery which surmounts the solid stone screen behind the stalls and which is continued beyond the crossing so as to form lateral screens for the presbytery and sanctuary. Where it flanked the high altar and the shrines of St. Dunstan and St. Alphege, the wall below the tracery is ornamented with a quatrefoil diapering, which is a distinctive mark of Eastry's work.

The three new doors led respectively into the nave and the south and north transepts. Of these doors, the archway of that leading into the nave still remains within the western choir screen ; the second, viz. that leading into the north transept, remains to-day much as Eastry left it ; but the third, which opened into the south transept, has been replaced by one of later date. Perhaps it was removed to make way for Cardinal Kemp's tomb in 1454.

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[1] The treasurer's accounts for the year 1298–99 show that in this year the Prior and convent spent £17 18s. 3d. in setting up the stalls of the *inferior* choir (*inferioris chori*), and that in the same year one Reginald Noldekyn gave £20 "pro novis stallis faciendis in choro."

[2] *See* a picture of the choir by Thomas Johnson painted soon after the restoration, now the property of W. D. Caröe, Esq., F.S.A., and reproduced in *Archæologia*, 1911.

Eastry's *pulpitum* or western choir screen was remodelled by Prior Chillenden nearly a hundred years later, but beneath the seventeenth-century panelling which now covers its eastern face the pierced tracery of Eastry's fourteenth-century screen still remains.

(5) The repair of the Chapter-house, which was in progress at the same time as the work in the choir, comprised the rebuilding of the gables, the lining of the lateral walls beneath the windows, with an arcade of trefoiled arches supported by pilasters of Sussex marble and surmounted by a cornice.

(6) 1314. A new gold crest or finial, costing £7 10s., was added to the shrine of St. Thomas, and some portion of the saint's skull was enclosed in a reliquary which was fashioned out of gold and silver in the form of a human head, and adorned with jewels, at a cost of £115 12s.[1]

(7) 1317. A spire of timber covered with lead was erected upon the north-western tower at a cost of £151 17s. 5d. The spire, which is shown in Hollar's view for Dugdale's *Monasticon*, was taken down in 1703.

To the conventual buildings Eastry made many important additions, which, with one exception, are all duly recorded in the catalogue of his benefactions.

(8) The monastic brewery on the north side of the court, part of which now serves as a school for the chorister boys.

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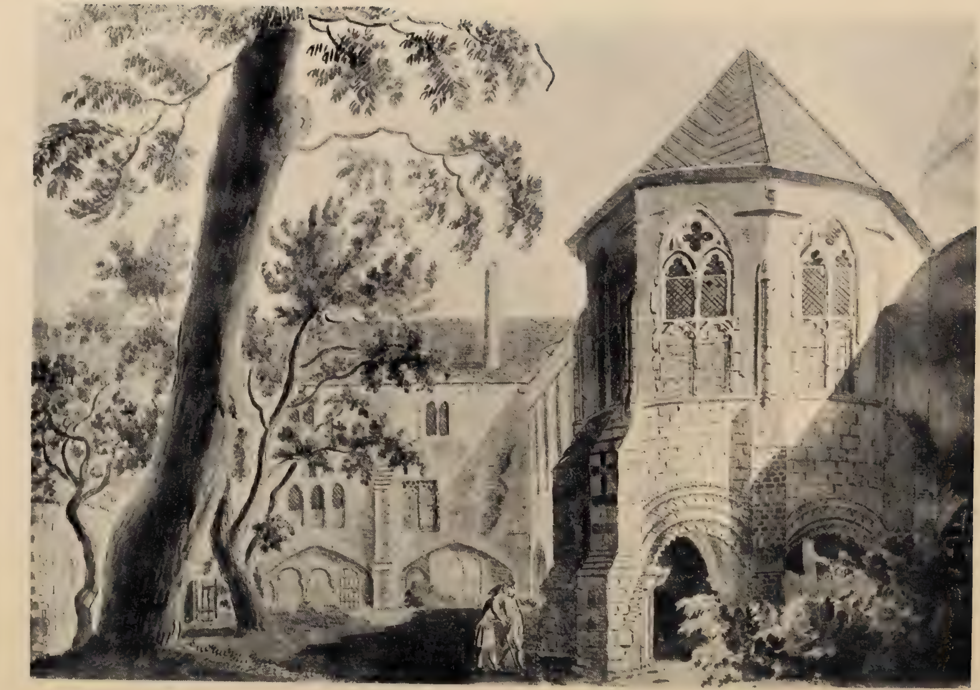
[1] "Pro corona sancti Thome auro et argento et lapidibus preciosis ornando 115^{li} 12^{s}." "Treasurer's Accounts," *sub anno.*

Chapter-House Door



THE ROUND WATER-TOWER AND
THE CHEKER BUILDING

(9) The *cheker* building or monastic counting-house, over the eastern alley of the infirmary cloister. The *cheker*, which had two stories of chambers above the ambulatory, was pulled down in 1868, but the circular stair turret by which the upper floors were reached was happily spared, and forms a very picturesque object when seen from the deanery garden.

A work of some importance carried out by Prior Eastry, of which, however, the list of his good works makes no mention, was the erection of a new chapel in the almonry outside the court gate. The chapel was dedicated to St. Thomas of Canterbury, and was served by six secular priests (the senior of whom was styled the dean), who lodged in chambers at the west end of the chapel and dined at a common table. The chapel was commenced in the year 1324, and must have been finished in 1328, since in the latter year the Bishop of St. Davids granted an indulgence to all persons who would visit the prior's new chapel and contribute to its furnishing.[1] On the suppression of the priory, the almonry remained in the King's hands until the reign of Queen Mary, by whom it was granted to her cousin, Cardinal Pole,

Cheker Tower

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[1] Canterbury MS. C. 182.

and the latter bequeathed it by will to the dean and chapter for the purpose of serving as premises for the cathedral school. In 1859, when new buildings for the school were erected on the northern side of the *Mint Yard*, the almonry buildings were demolished.

In addition to the above building operations, Eastry laid out enormous sums on vestments and ornaments for the church. These acquisitions are set forth in full in the great inventory of 1315, now preserved amongst the Cottonian MSS. in the British Museum (Galba E. iv.).[1] An important addition, of which the inventory of 1315 makes only casual mention, was the erection of a new altar-piece (*tabula*) for the high altar. From a letter preserved amongst the "Eastry Correspondence" it would appear that the new altar-piece consisted, in part at any rate, of a picture upon panels. The letter in question was addressed to Prior Eastry by Archbishop Walter Reynolds (1324), who indignantly contradicts a report spread abroad by the craftsman employed on the *tabula*—one Jordan, the *painter*—that he (the Archbishop) disapproved of the design, and offers to subscribe £20 towards the work if the Prior can get Jordan to fulfil his contract, the latter (as appears from another letter on the same subject) being desirous of selling his work to better advantage elsewhere.[2]

From the "Correspondence of Prior Eastry" we occasionally get some gossiping details concerning the occupants of the archiepiscopal see which are not to be found elsewhere. Thus a correspondent writing to the Prior shortly before the death of Archbishop Peckham says that the Archbishop has grown very morose and is quite unapproachable. Moreover, a report is abroad that he hopes to be made a cardinal. Peckham, however, never became a member of the Sacred College. His death occurred on December 6, 1292, and he was buried in the transept of the Martyrdom, where his fine canopied tomb with its effigy in bog-oak still remains against the northern wall. Of his successor, the saintly Robert Winchelsey, it is curious to learn from one of Eastry's correspondents that in later life, in spite of his asceticism and the many hardships he had endured during his long struggle with King Edward I, the Archbishop grew inordinately stout (*valde ponderosus*). Winchelsey's boundless charity and the report of certain miraculous circumstances connected with his body after death at once raised him to saintship in popular estimation, and pilgrims made offerings at his tomb. In 1319 these amounted to no less than £90. Winchelsey's popularity, however, soon waned, and the offerings had entirely ceased long before the suppression of the monastery. Nevertheless, the fact that his tomb had once been the object of popular veneration doubtless led to its destruction when Henry VIII issued his edict for the demolition of all tombs and shrines which had been " abused by pilgrimages and offerings."

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[1] The inventory has been printed by Messrs. Legg and Hope in "Inventories of Christ Church, Canterbury," in which work the list fills four closely printed pages.

[2] "Eastry Correspondence," Canterbury Archives, iv. R. 27 and RR. 400 (8).

Towards Walter Reynolds (the third archbishop enthroned by the aged Prior) Eastry acted as a sort of mentor, for whenever the Archbishop in his capacity as statesman found himself in a difficulty he had recourse to his friend the Prior, whose advice, if it did not betray any altruistic principle, was probably sound under the circumstances, and at least natural to one who had witnessed many political crises, and had, so to speak, seen the English Constitution grow up under his eyes. Thus in the troublous times which occurred towards the end of the reign of Edward II, when Reynolds, whose character was weak and vacillating, hoped to get a lead from the old Prior as to the attitude he should adopt in the civil strife, the latter with characteristic caution advised him not to commit himself definitely to either party—advice which Reynolds doubtless found quite congenial to his temperament. But the barbarous murder of the King, who had been his pupil and friend, filled the Archbishop with remorse, and is said to have hastened his own end, for his death occurred on November 16 in the same year (1327).

There has been some uncertainty as to the position of Reynolds' tomb. The recumbent effigy beneath the westernmost window of the south aisle of the choir is generally believed to represent him; but in his will he gave instructions for his burial " before the altars of the blessed Virgin Mary and St. John the Evangelist, next the tomb of my predecessor R(obert Winchelsey), beneath the pavement (*in plana terra*), either at the foot or head of the said tomb according as the said prior may direct." Winchelsey's tomb, according to Leland, was placed against " the butt ende," or south wall, of the south-east transept; and Reynolds' tomb may have been destroyed when the shrine of the former prelate was swept away in the time of Henry VIII.

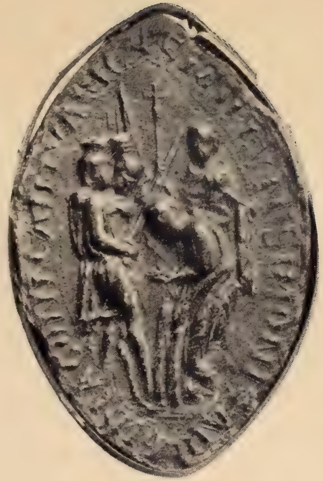
Amongst the benefactions left to the cathedral church by Archbishop Reynolds was his great pontifical ring, set with rubies and a large oblong emerald between twelve smaller gems, also six other rings set with emeralds, all of which he desired might be attached to the apex of the shrine of St. Thomas. But a benefaction far better calculated to keep his memory green amongst the monks of Christ Church was the gift of the manor of Caldecote, situated on rising ground in the parish of St. Martin for the express purpose that it might serve as a sanatorium to which the brethren might retire during convalescence, or where they might enjoy a short recess after those periodical blood-lettings which all through the middle ages were considered indispensable to good health.

During Henry of Eastry's long priorate the convent of Christ Church was frequently honoured by the visits of royalty. On May 2, 1299, King Edward I was married to his second consort, Margaret of France, at the cloister door opening into the "martyrdom" transept, the royal pair subsequently hearing Mass in the chapel of St. Thomas. The monastic register in which the account of the marriage is enrolled contains also a curious account of a dispute which ensued as to the ownership of the canopy which during the ceremony was held over the heads of the King and Queen. This is worthy of a passing notice for the light it throws upon the claim constantly put forward by the prior and convent of Christ Church that the cathedral church was no mere appendage of the archbishopric. Thus to the Archbishop's contention that the cloth belonged to him by right of his office the Prior replied that he could claim nothing on this account in the mother-church of Canterbury, because the church of Canterbury "is not a chapel of the archbishop, but the mother of all other churches in the province of Canterbury." Claims were also put in by the Archbishop's cross-bearer and by the king's chaplain, and the upshot of the matter was that the king gave orders that the cloth should be delivered to the earl of Lincoln until the rights of the disputants could be determined.

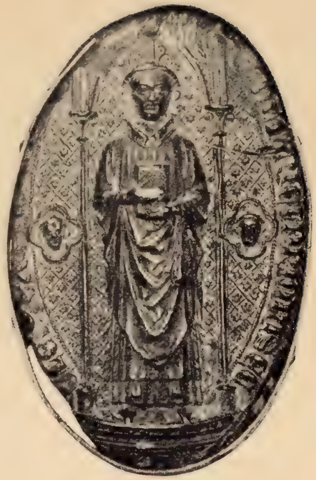
Edward II came to Canterbury in 1314 for the enthronement of his old tutor and friend, Walter Reynolds, from whom, however, he received but scant support in the dark days when his Queen and people turned against him. Possibly the loyalty of the Archbishop was weakened by reports which reached him through the Prior of Christ Church of the mad freaks of some of the royal favourites; for more than one letter in the "Eastry Correspondence" refers (in somewhat enigmatical terms) to the extraordinary conduct of the younger De Spenser.

Queen Isabella, when she deserted her husband, did the Prior the doubtful honour of leaving her pack of hounds on his hands. After maintaining them for more than two years, Eastry began to grow restive under the burden, and wrote to the Archbishop to know how he could rid himself of it. The Archbishop's reply is not extant, but as the Prior was eighty-four years of age at the time he can hardly have advised him to carry the horn himself. When nearly ninety Eastry felt that the time had come when he could no longer undertake the frequent journeys which the business of the convent demanded, and he obtained from Edward III, who was in Canterbury from June 14 to 20, 1329, permission to appoint two general proctors who might represent him in the king's courts and elsewhere. Less than two years after this—viz. on April 3, 1331—at the age of ninety-two, he passed away, having ruled the house with much prudence and success for nearly forty-seven years. It is remarkable that the sepulchre of such a distinguished prior cannot be located. In one of the Christ Church obituaries Eastry is said to have been buried " between the pictures of St. Osyth and St. Apollonia," but this we fear is *ignotum per ignotius.* Whatever doubt there may be about Eastry's monument, there is none about the compass and completeness of his achievement; and this is his imperishable memorial for all who read the story of the monks of Canterbury. He seems to have been one of those rare figures of men provided with a great and honourable task, and perfectly equipped to fulfil it. He was happy in being gifted with strength of body, capacity of mind, persistence of purpose, singleness of aim, and length of life. He was also *felix opportunitate mortis;* for we are told that " when was done his long day's work " " he died at the time of high mass."

C. E. W.



SEAL OF ARCHDEACON
SIMON LANGTON, 1245



SEAL OF PRIOR
HENRY OF EASTRY

CHAPTER VIII

FROM THE DEATH OF PRIOR HENRY OF EASTRY TO THE ELECTION OF PRIOR THOMAS OF CHILLENDEN

1331–1391

After the death of the patriarch Eastry the monks of Christ Church—perhaps influenced by the law of contrasts—chose for their prior Richard Oxenden, who, as he only made his profession some eleven years earlier, can scarcely have been more than thirty years of age at the time of his election. His rapid preferment may have been due to the fact that he was a member of an influential East Kent family,[1] but he justified the choice of the brethren by his capacity for business, since the affairs of the convent prospered greatly under his rule.

Boss in "Black Prince's" Chantry

Although he only presided over the house for nine years, several of Oxenden's letters have been preserved, and a perusal of them leaves the impression that the young Prior was a somewhat grandiloquent person. Thus, when in some petty affray a monk's nose was broken in the churchyard, Oxenden solemnly informed Archbishop Stratford that "the face of his spouse the Church has been besmirched," and suggests that the "befouled precinct" must be reconciled with due ceremonial. The Archbishop replied that if the circumstances should prove on inquiry to be such that a formal reconciliation was necessary, the Bishop of Rochester would come to Canterbury as his representative, but took the opportunity of administering a snub to the Prior for writing at such length on so trivial a matter (*non cum debita brevitate sed inutili verbositate*).

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[1] He was the second son of Solomon de Oxenden of Nonington, an ancestor of the Oxendens of Brome in Barham.

In 1333 the Prior and convent were honoured by a visit from King Edward III, who came to Canterbury with Queen Philippa, Prince Edward, and a numerous suite. On such an occasion it was, of course, necessary to make presents to King, Queen, courtiers, and retinue. And in order to show what a heavy tax these royal visits were upon the resources of the convent we give below a list (taken from Prior Oxenden's day-book) of the gifts bestowed by the monks upon their distinguished guests:

To King Edward, two silver bowls, enamelled in the bottom, valued at £9 3s.; two silver ewers for water, 53s. 6d.; one silver-gilt cup with shields in enamel, which had once belonged to Hamo de Chikwell, citizen of London, and which had been given by him to Prior Richard, 100s.; a silver flask for wine, which formerly belonged to Prior Henry, 53s.; a palfrey, valued at £20.

To Queen Philippa, two silver bowls, enamelled in the bottom, worth £7 10s. 11d., with two buckles placed inside them, 70s.; two silver wine flasks, 107s. 4d.; one pony (*parvum equum*), the value of which is not stated.

To the young Prince Edward of Woodstock (afterwards known as the Black Prince), then only three years old, an alabaster cup, worth 6s.

To Henry of Lancaster and the Earl of Arundel each a silver cup and buckles. To the ladies of the Queen's suite, jewels, silk, and gloves. The total value reached the enormous sum of £109 16s., equivalent to more than £2000 at the present day. Of course, in addition to all this there was the expense of entertainment ; so that the King's offering of £10 and the Queen's of five marks at the shrine of St. Thomas did not greatly enrich the coffers of the monastery.

The only addition to the fabric of the cathedral church that is connected with the name of Prior Oxenden is the large *decorated* window of five lights which was inserted in the south wall of St. Anselm's Chapel in 1336. It would appear that the window was a memorial to Archbishop Meopham, who had been buried at the entrance of the chapel two years previously, since part of the cost was defrayed by his friends and the balance by Prior Oxenden himself. This fine *decorated* window—the only one, by the way, which Canterbury Cathedral can boast—was very badly treated by the " restorers " of the first half of the nineteenth century, who pared down its tracery to the glass and inserted Portland-stone monials, so that when Professor Willis saw it the window " had a most ungenuine air." More recently, however, it has been subjected to a second and more judicious restoration, whereby it has recovered much of its original beauty.

Prior Oxenden died on August 4, 1338, and was buried in St. Michael's Chapel, but no memorial of him is now extant.

His successor, Robert Hathbrand, ruled the house for nearly thirty-two years, and was a man of considerable mark. His personal piety was great, for it is recorded in his obituary that he never celebrated Mass without shedding tears ; but he was also a man of affairs, and an influential person at Court.[1]

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[1] " Tunc venit ille famosissimus dominus et duorum filiorum Regis

So highly was he esteemed by King Edward III that two of the young princes were entrusted to his care. Their names are not recorded, but possibly Edward of Woodstock may have been one of them ; and if so, the desire of the " Black Prince " to be buried within the walls of the metropolitical church may possibly have been due partly to his early connection with Christ Church and its prior.

Hathbrand's lot was cast in troublous times, for not only was the country struggling under the burden of the great French war, in support of which the convent was continually paying subsidies and tenths, but the period was also coincident with the most virulent outbreaks of the Black Death, that terrible scourge from which throughout the middle ages England was seldom quite free. In 1348 Archbishop Stratford died at his manor-house at Mayfield in Sussex, perhaps not of plague. But the fell disease carried off the next two Primates in quick succession —John de Ufford on May 20 in the following year, before he could be enthroned, and his successor, the learned Thomas Bradwardine, a few months later. In some parts of the country the insanitary condition and overcrowded state of the monasteries were so favourable to the spread of the epidemic that their inmates were practically exterminated. It is therefore a high testimony to the excellence of the drainage system and water-supply provided by Prior Wibert to learn that the monks of Christ Church enjoyed a comparative immunity, since only four deaths from plague occurred in the cloister in the year when the scourge was at its worst. The tenants and villeins on the monastic estates, however, suffered severely, and the scarcity of labour which followed the outbreak

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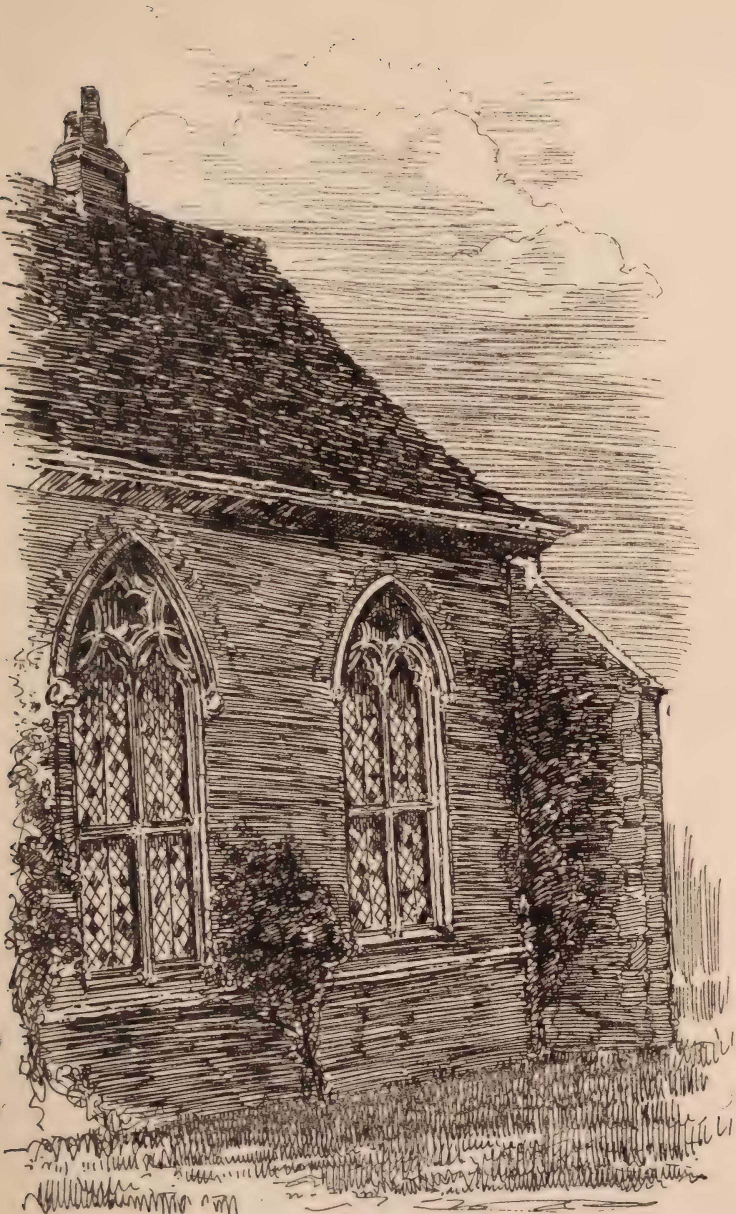
alumpnus, Regi et proceribus regni acceptissimus dominus Robertus Hadbrand." "Monastic Chronicle of Christ Church, Canterbury," ed. by C. Eveleigh Woodruff, *Archæologia Cantiana*, vol. xxix. p. 10.



The Table-Hall of the Infirmary. c. 1342

produced economic changes which had a very far-reaching effect upon the finances of the priory. But the offerings at the shrine of St. Thomas—that sheet-anchor of Canterbury finance—saved the situation; for in the year 1350, when the danger of infection must still have been very great, the pilgrims continued to find their way to Canterbury, and in such numbers that the offerings in that year amounted to more than eight hundred pounds. Hence, in spite of a diminishing rent-roll, the convent was able to undertake some important building operations during Hathbrand's priorate. The earliest of which we have any record was the erection of a new *refectorium*, or *frater*-house, in the infirmary. This apartment, which was called by the monks *Mensa Magistri*, or the Table-Hall, has happily escaped destruction and still forms part of the prebendal house nearest to the deanery. It measures 37 ft. by 27 ft. internally, and retains its tiled roof of high pitch and the original windows in the east and north walls, which are built of squared flints. Somner, on the authority of an entry in the treasurer's accounts (which, however, are no longer extant for this period), says that the "Table-Hall was built in 1342-43. It was intended to serve as the dining-room for monks who were sufficiently convalescent to leave their chambers in the infirmary.

Another piece of work, carried out probably about the same time as the above, but of which no documentary evidence remains, was the remodelling of the chancel of the infirmary chapel. Here Hathbrand's work comprised the relining of the walls of the chancel, the erection of a new chancel arch, and the insertion of fourteenth-century windows. The great east window was formerly of five lights, but its tracery has gone. That in the northern wall of the chancel, however, still retains its tracery, which shows a mixture of geometric and flowing lines characteristic of the style prevalent towards the middle of the fourteenth century.

Of the great monastic kitchen rebuilt by Prior Hathbrand only a few fragments remain in the garden of the house now occupied by the Bishop of Dover. But these were sufficient to enable the keen eye of Professor Willis to recover the plan of the building. "It was," he says, "built in the form of a square of forty-seven feet, with arches cutting off the angles so as to sustain an octagonal roof." In plan it resembled very closely the monastic kitchen at Glastonbury, but was considerably larger, since the latter is but thirty-five feet square.

Within the church itself a very beautiful and delicate piece of work was carried out in the crypt in 1363. In this year Prince Edward, being desirous of performing some act of piety in return for the papal dispensation which enabled him to marry his fair cousin, Joan Plantagenet, obtained permission to found a chantry chapel in that part of the undercroft which lies beneath the south-eastern transept of the cathedral. From the terms of the foundation charter[1] we learn that the Prince was induced to found his chantry at Canterbury because from *his earliest years* he had cherished a peculiar affection for the metropolitical church—an expression which may perhaps be taken as further confirmation of the conjecture already hazarded that in his early childhood he had been placed under the tutelage of Prior Hathbrand. By the foundation deed it was ordained that the chantry should contain two altars, dedicated respectively to the Holy Trinity and St. Mary the Virgin, to each of which a priest was attached. In addition to the daily Mass which the priests were to say each at his own altar, but not simultaneously, the canonical hours were to be recited by the two chaplains together at the altar of the Holy Trinity. Further, they were to lodge and keep "a common table" in a house provided for their use in the parish of St. Alphege. It is sad to relate that the latter arrangement did not work well, for

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[1] Register B. f. 2. It is printed in full in Stanley's "Memorials."

Ruins of the Chancel of the Infirmary Chapel

the monastic annals record that the priests quarrelled so badly that the prior and chapter found it necessary to bind them over "to restrain their tongues from unclean language and from shameful words." It is also somewhat curious to learn that, although the Prince endowed his chantry with the profits of his manor at Vauxhall, the revenue at a later date was insufficient for the purposes of the trust. Thus, in 1472, the Prior and Chapter suggested to Archbishop Bourchier that the manor should be made over to the chantry priests "to find themselves therewith, we being only bound to find the said priests both wax and bread and wine, nothing reserving unto us of the said manor." It would appear, however, that the Archbishop did not sanction the relinquishment of the trust, for the manor of Vauxhall remained part of the possession of Christ Church, and, till taken over by the Ecclesiastical Commission in the nineteenth century, was one of its most profitable estates.

North Window of the Infirmary Chapel

What happened to the Prince's chantry at the time of the suppression of the priory is best told in the words of the poor chaplain who survived the *débâcle*. In reply to the Commissioners of King Edward VI he deposed as follows: "As to the plate and vestments, there were but two chalices to both the altars, the value of which, I think, was not above

£6; the best of them was stolen before the dissolution of the house, and the other was delivered to the convent with the vestments and altar cloths and books pertaining to the altar." He also said that, as far as he knew, the land with which the chantry was endowed came into the King's hands, but that the house in St. Alphege, "now sore decayed," remained in the hands of the chaplains until the last Parliament. "This twenty-two years it hath been part of my living. I trust his Grace will excuse my age and impotency."[1]

But to revert to the architectural history of the chantry. At the Prince's expense, the whole of the pillars, walls, and vaulted roof were clothed with masonry exquisitely wrought in the style of the period. The central pillar is encircled with eight little round shafts; the vaulting arches are pointed and shafted; the *lierne* vault has numerous well-moulded transverse ribs, and carved bosses, originally coloured and gilt, adorn the points at which they intersect. That in the centre of the western bay of the northern chantry assumes the form of a lady's face with a *nebulé* head-dress, which popular tradition identifies as a representation of the Fair Maid of Kent, though it must be confessed that the features portrayed seem scarcely to warrant such a supposition.

The central boss of the bay next eastwards bears the armorial coat of the Prince, and on the large boss over the place where the altar of the Holy Trinity stood there is an admirably carved nude figure of Samson. The hair of the head is carefully emphasised, and beneath the right arm appears the long-eared head of an ass—which was perhaps the only way in which the sculptor could convey to the spectator's mind the central fact of the scriptural incident that Samson slew a thousand Philistines with the jaw-bone of an ass. This figure has been taken as an allusion to the battle of Poitiers, where the heaps of dead bodies in the lane on the battlefield might well recall the words of the scriptural story: "And Samson said, With the jaw-bone of an ass, heaps upon heaps, with the jaw-bone of an ass have I slain a thousand men."[1] The chantry now forms the meeting-place of the French Protestant congregation.

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[1] *Cart. Antiquæ*, Christ Church, Canterbury, C. 16.

It would seem, however, that Prince Edward's munificence was not exhausted by the erection of these chantries, but that it extended to the transformation of the little chapel of St. Mary in the crypt, where he desired to be buried and to which he made several very valuable bequests. The whole of the crypt was originally dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, but in Ernulf's church her chapel occupied the three eastern bays of the central alley. The new chapel, erected when Hathbrand was Prior, was much smaller, but its lack of size was compensated by the extreme richness of its ornamentation. The lateral screens of pierced stonework, and the reredos with its tall central niche for the image of the Virgin, and the pedestals for the figures of attendant saints, though grievously mutilated, are still of surpassing grace and beauty. Abundant evidence still remains of the gilding and colour which once adorned the stonework, and we can well imagine that when the lighted tapers of the silver candelabra and pendent lamps reflected the rays of the burnished suns and stars with which

Boss of Joan Plantagenet

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[1] W. A. Scott-Robertson in *Archæologia Cantiana*, vol. xiii. p. 543.

the blue vault of the roof was studded, this little chapel was one of the show-places of the church. The whole was enclosed within a strong grille of ironwork, inside of which only specially favoured persons might come. Erasmus, who had brought with him a letter of introduction from Archbishop Warham, was one of the favoured few. "Here [in the crypt]," he writes, "the Virgin hath an habitation, but somewhat dark, enclosed within a double sept, or rail of iron, for fear of thieves; for indeed I never saw a thing more laden with riches. . . . Light being brought, we saw a more than royal spectacle; in beauty it far surpassed that of Walsingham."

The daily mass in the Chapel of "Our Lady of the undercroft" was said in turn by those of the monks who were in priest's orders, each receiving for his pains a fee of twopence from the warden of the chapel, an unfortunate officer who seems to have spent most of his time in the gloom of the crypt, where an apartment was fitted up for his use.[1]

When the crypt was restored about twenty years ago, a stratum of gravel and rubbish of sufficient thickness to hide the bases of Ernulf's columns was removed from the floor. It was then found that the Lady Chapel was built, not upon the original floor, but upon this subsequent deposit. So that this raising of the level must have been carried out before the last quarter of the fourteenth century.

It would seem that the condition of the nave of the church was causing anxiety even in Hathbrand's time, for in the last year of his life a subscription list was opened for its rebuilding. The list is still preserved amongst the Chapter archives, and contains thirty-four names, headed by that of John Bekenore, who gave twenty pounds, the total amounting to £44 7s. 11d. The death of the Prior, however, prevented the furtherance of the work at the time, for Hathbrand died July 16, 1370, and, like his predecessor, was buried in the chapel of St. Michael.

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[1] "To the carpenter for work done in my chamber in the crypt, 3d." "For a painted cloth for my chamber in the crypt, 20d." "The Accounts of Dom Thomas Anselm," warden of the chapel in 1509.

No further additions to the fabric are recorded in the days of the two next Priors, Richard Gillingham (1370–76) and Stephen Mongeham (1376–77); but the single year of office of the latter Prior was marked by an event of great importance in the annals of the church of Canterbury—namely, the funeral of the Black Prince.

In spite of the specific instructions contained in the Prince's will that his body should be buried "in the Chapel of Our Lady in the undercroft, at a distance of ten feet from the altar," public opinion could not allow the nation's darling to be hidden away in so obscure a spot. Hence it came about that when (nearly four months after his death) the body of Prince Edward was at length brought to Canterbury for interment, it was laid to rest in the most honourable place the church could offer, viz. on the south side of the shrine of St. Thomas. The funeral, which must have been one of the most impressive pageants ever witnessed even at Canterbury, took place on Michaelmas Day 1376. During the *requiem* mass, at which Archbishop Simon of Sudbury officiated, assisted by William Courtenay, bishop of London, and Prior Mongeham, the body of the hero was placed upon a magnificent catafalque erected before the high altar, whence it was carried to its last resting-place in the retro-choir.

The Black Prince's tomb, though it has lost much of the bright colouring and gilding which once adorned it, has never been wantonly defaced, and is still one of the most splendid monumental memorials in the kingdom.

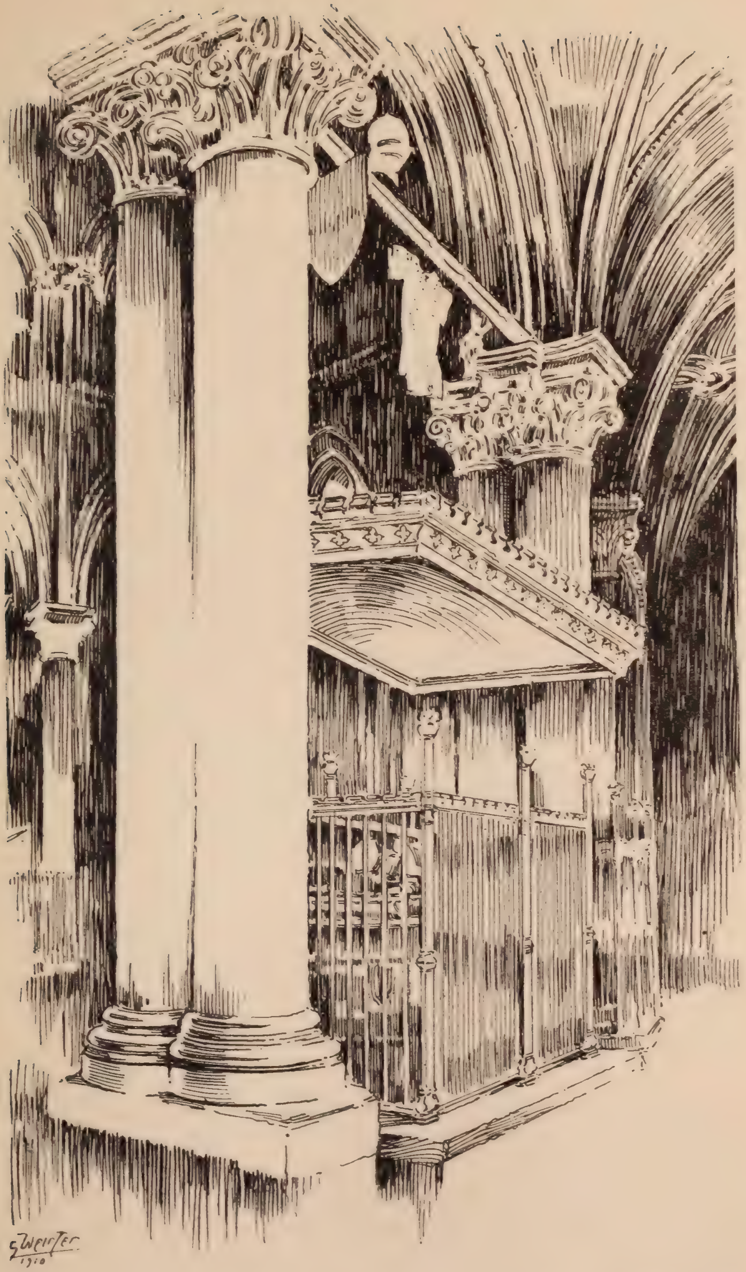
The sides of the tomb are of Purbeck marble, adorned with enamelled shields of arms, the ostrich feathers (which the Prince derived from the family of his mother, Philippa of Hainault), bearing labels inscribed with the words *Houmont* and *Ich diene*, the exact meaning of which we will not attempt to determine. The top is surmounted by a latten table carrying a life-sized effigy cast in the same metal. The Prince is represented in full armour, in accordance with the directions of his will; and his face, which exhibits the clear-cut features of the Plantagenets, is doubtless a portrait. Around the edge of the table is a long inscription in French, placed there in accordance with the express instructions contained in the Prince's will. The lines, which, according to Stanley (who has given a copy of them in his "Memorials"), are borrowed, with a few variations, from the anonymous French translation of the *Clericalis Disciplina* of Petrus Alphonsus, composed between the years 1106 and 1110, have been translated, or rather paraphrased, thus:

Wanderer, where this dust reclines,
  Restored to kindred dust again,
Know that the tomb which bears these lines
  Sanctions the monitory strain;
Connected by an equal fate,
In mine behold thy funeral state.

Heedless of death I lived my hour,
  As though this transient life could last;
Revel'd in riches and in power,
  In honour's high enrolment cast;
The trappings of the princely great
Gave lustre to my earthly state.

Now, poor, beneath contempt I lie
And close concealed from every eye,
My beauty changed to loathsomeness,
My frame all shrunk to rottenness.

Narrow and mean my mansion now,
  My tongue a silent lecture holds;
Couldst thou explore what lies below
  The poor remains the tomb enfolds,
Among the dust which feeds the worm
Thou'dst vainly seek the human form.



The Black Prince's Tomb

Then God implore, th' eternal King,
  That mercy on my soul be shown;
So may His grace on seraph wing
  Descend and purify thy own.
When time is past then be it given
To thee to taste the joys of heaven.[1]

Above the tomb, extending from pillar to pillar, is hung a flat wooden canopy or tester, on the underside of which is painted an anthropomorphic representation of the Holy Trinity, now much defaced.[2] Upon the beam from which the canopy is suspended are now placed the achievements of the Prince, but from the view of the tomb given by Dart[3] it would appear that these were formerly hung upon an iron rod above the beam. The objects now displayed are the helm, crest, jupon or coat-of-arms, gauntlets, shield, sword-sheath, and part of a belt with a buckle, but the sword has disappeared together with the dagger and target which once had a place here. Tradition affirms that the sword was taken away by Oliver Cromwell, but there is no evidence that the great Protector was ever in Canterbury. It was certainly in its place in 1580, since in that year 16d. was paid to the sub-sacristan for cleaning it;[4] but how much longer it remained with the other relics we have been unable to discover. Though of great value as specimens of fourteenth-century work, competent authorities are of opinion that none of these achievements were ever actually worn by the Prince in his lifetime, but were specially made to figure in his obsequies. A minute description of them from the pen of Mr. W. H. St. John Hope, accompanied by a set of magnificent plates, was published by the Society of Antiquaries of London in 1895.[1]

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[1] Woolnoth's "Canterbury," p. 89.

[2] A drawing of the picture is given in Stanley's "Memorials."

[3] "History and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of Canterbury," 1726, p. 82.

[4] "Johanni Harte pro coruscacione gladii pendentis super tumulum principis Edwardi tercii [*sic*] voc' the black prynce xvi^{d}." *Treasurer's Accounts*, 1580.

Prince Edward's bequests to Christ Church comprised: "A vestment [that is, complete suit] of green velvet embroidered with gold; two basons of gold; a chalice of gold with his arms on the foot, and the paten thereto; two cruets of gold; an image of the Holy Trinity, and his best cross of silver-gilt enamelled." To the altar of Our Lady of the Undercroft, before which he desired to be buried, he left a whole white suit diapered with a blue vine; a frontal which had been given him by the Bishop of Exeter, having the Assumption of Our Lady in the midst of other imagery; and a tabernacle of the same subject, the gift of the said bishop; also his two great twisted candlesticks; two basons with his arms; a great gilt and enamelled chalice with the arms of Warenne; two cruets wrought in the form of angels; a set of tapestry hangings, including two *bankers* or bench coverings of ostrich feathers on black tapestry having a red border and embroidered with swans with ladies' heads. The *dosser* (or end piece) was to be cut up for making frontals for the several altars of St. Thomas—viz. that at the head of his shrine; in the corona; at the altar of the Sword Point; and, if sufficient remained, for hangings round the saint's tomb in the crypt. The eight *costers* (or side pieces) were to be hung on the side screens of the choir above the stalls on all principal feast-days and on the anniversary of the Prince's death. Some of the *banker* pieces seem to have survived until 1540, since the inventory taken in that year mentions one old hanging of "vi peces of ostriche fethers to laye on the ground on Palm Sunday.[2]

But to revert to the general history of the fabric of the church. The rebuilding the nave which had been contemplated by Prior Hathbrand was postponed after his death for seven years. In 1377, when Simon Sudbury was Archbishop and John Finch was Prior, the financial position of the priory had so much improved that the work was put in hand. It was clear, however, that to demolish the old Norman nave and erect a new one in its place would be a stupendous task, and one which could not be carried out by the unaided resources of the monks of Christ Church. Accordingly the Archbishop issued a brief inviting subscriptions to the building fund, and offered an indulgence of forty days to all good people who would contribute to the work. To what extent the appeal was successful we do not know; but whatever sum was obtained in this way was supplemented by a munificent donation of three thousand marks from the Archbishop himself. The Norman nave, which was in a ruinous condition, was now pulled down; but the towers were left standing, and the transepts, in order to give stability to the central tower. That the two western towers might receive immediate support, the work of rebuilding was commenced at the western end; but before much progress had been made Sudbury's career was cut short by the rebels on Tower Hill. The followers of Wat Tyler had paid a visit to Canterbury on June 10, 1381, and had broken open the castle and plundered the palace of the Archbishop. Sudbury (who was in London at the time), knowing that as Chancellor he was held by the insurgents to be responsible for the obnoxious poll-tax, took refuge in the Tower. The rebels, however, effected an entrance and beheaded the unfortunate prelate. His headless body was brought to Canterbury for interment, and received honourable sepulture on the south side of the presbytery, where his fine canopied tomb may still be seen. Thither the mayor and aldermen of the city were wont to go in procession every Christmas Day to pray for the soul of the benefactor who had rebuilt the walls and the great West-gate of their city. But although Sudbury's name was inserted on the bede-roll of the monastery, and a money-box for offerings was placed upon his tomb, the monks of Christ Church—perhaps from the fact that he had once had the temerity to cast doubt upon the efficacy of pilgrimages to the shrine of Canterbury's most famous saint—seem never to have cherished his memory with much warmth.

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[1] *Vetusta Monumenta*, vol. vii. Part I.

[2] "Inventories of Christ Church, Canterbury," by Messrs. J. Wickham Legg and W. H. St. John Hope, p. 96. Westminster, 1902.

Ten years elapsed between the death of Archbishop Sudbury and that of Prior Finch, and there is some evidence to show that during these years very considerable progress was made in the work of rebuilding the nave. Thus, when Archbishop Courtenay in 1390 entered into an agreement with the prior and convent with regard to the perpetuation of his memory in the services of the cathedral church, amongst his good deeds meriting recognition special mention was made of a gift of twenty pounds towards a new window in the nave in honour of St. Alphege. The same document records that the Archbishop had been very active in collecting funds for the work, and had been successful in raising one thousand marks "from King Richard and other friends" (*Ricardo illustrissimo rege Anglie et aliis amicis*).

The architectural style adopted in the new nave was something entirely fresh in the south-east of England. In the first half of the fourteenth century Kent had evolved a very pleasing variety of the style known as *decorated*, but the local guilds of craftsmen had been broken up by the ravages of the Black Death, and by the end of the century the traditions of their art had been lost. On the other hand, in the larger towns new associations were being formed, and a new style was being evolved which from its cheap effectiveness and its adaptability to all requirements was destined to become stereotyped in this country for more than two centuries.

This style, which has been named the *Early Perpendicular*, found its earliest expression in the south-east of England in the nave of Canterbury Cathedral; but it had been adopted nearly fifty years earlier at Gloucester, and there can be little doubt that the architect who designed the Canterbury nave had been trained in the Gloucester school of masons.[1]

A notable addition to the conventual buildings during Finch's priorate was the erection of a set of new guest-chambers adjoining the gatehouse of the cellarer's hall. The monks were so pleased with these apartments that they called one of them *Paradise* and another *Heaven*. They still form part of the prebendal house in the south-western corner of the Green Court, and are still known by their old names.

On the other hand, the convent suffered one considerable loss during Finch's days, namely, the fall of the *campanile* or bell-tower, on the south side of the cemetery of the lay folk. The destruction of the *campanile*, which dated probably from the days of Lanfranc, was caused by an earthquake which occurred on May 21, 1382—the very day on which the doctrines of Wyclif were condemned by a Council held at the Blackfriars in London, a coincidence which, of course, admitted of and found more than one interpretation.

Prior Finch died January 25, 1391, and was buried in the Martyrdom, where his flat ledger-stone—from which the effigy of brass has been stripped—may still be seen. He appears to have been a man of saintly life, but was perhaps not a good man of business, since an anonymous Christ Church chronicler describes him as a " man of clean hands and pure heart, who wisely depended more on the power of prayer and the worldly wisdom of his brother-monks, William Woghope and

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[1] *See* Prior's " Cathedral Builders," p. 85.

Thomas Chillenden, the treasurers, than on any special efforts of his own." Chillenden succeeded him as prior, and brought to a successful issue the great work of rebuilding the nave, and with Chillenden's name the nave of Canterbury Cathedral has always been connected; but it is only fair to state that no inconsiderable part of the work was done under the auspices of Prior Finch.

Capital in the Crypt

CHAPTER IX

THE PRIORATE OF THOMAS CHILLENDEN

1391–1411

THOMAS CHILLENDEN, who succeeded Finch in 1391, left a broader mark upon the fabric of church and convent than any prior before or after him. In the words of John Leland, the antiquary, he was "the greatest Builder of a Prior that ever was in Christes Churche."

John Stone, who was almost a contemporary, calls Chillenden the "Flower" of Christ Church Priors, and one whose indefatigable labours could only meet with their due reward in heaven (*Thomas Anglorum flos Chillendenne priorum, gloria coelorum cui detur ob acta laborum*).[1]

A complete list of the building operations undertaken by Chillenden is recorded upon the back of the general account roll of the monastery for the year in which he died (1411)[2]; and further details are supplied by an anonymous chronicler who was an inmate of the house when the various works were being carried out.[3] From these sources we can gain some idea of the restless energy of Chillenden as a builder, and are led to the conclusion that during the twenty years of his rule the sound of axes and hammers must have reverberated through the precincts without intermission.

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[1] MS. C.C.C. Cambridge, No. 417.

[2] Roll C. 166, *Chartæ Antiquæ*, Christ Church, Canterbury, printed by Willis in *Archæologia Cantiana*, vol. vii. pp. 187–89.

[3] MS. C. 14, Canterbury Archives. Printed in *Archæologia Cantiana*, vol. xxix.

The chief work was, of course, the rebuilding of the nave, on which during the first four years of Chillenden's priorate an average sum of nearly five hundred pounds was spent. In his fifth year, probably owing to the fact that much decorative work was going on in the choir, only two hundred and eighty pounds could be spared for the new nave. In order to give a fresh stimulus to the liberality of churchmen, the convent now obtained from Pope Boniface IX a bull granting to all persons who would visit the cathedral church and give alms "for the repair and conservation of its fabric" an indulgence of seven years and seven Lents (*quadragenæ*).[1] A little later a further augmentation of the building fund was obtained by the gift of the rectories of Godmersham and Westwell from Archbishop Arundel, who in the deed of conveyance states that the "prior and convent had laudably expended upwards of five thousand marks out of their common property upon the construction of the said nave and other necessary works about the church, and that six thousand marks would be too little to finish the work as begun, and others that must be done about the prostrate cloister, and the Chapter-house, which is thought to be in a dangerous state."[2] Unfortunately, our chronicler does not record the sums spent on the nave during the next three years. But it would seem that in the year 1400–1 it was approaching completion, for at that date the Prior and convent received from Archbishop Arundel the munificent donation of one thousand marks towards "the building of the vault of the church." In all probability, therefore, the nave was structurally complete very early in the fifteenth century.

The architectural effect of Chillenden's nave suffers from the narrowness of the structure in proportion to

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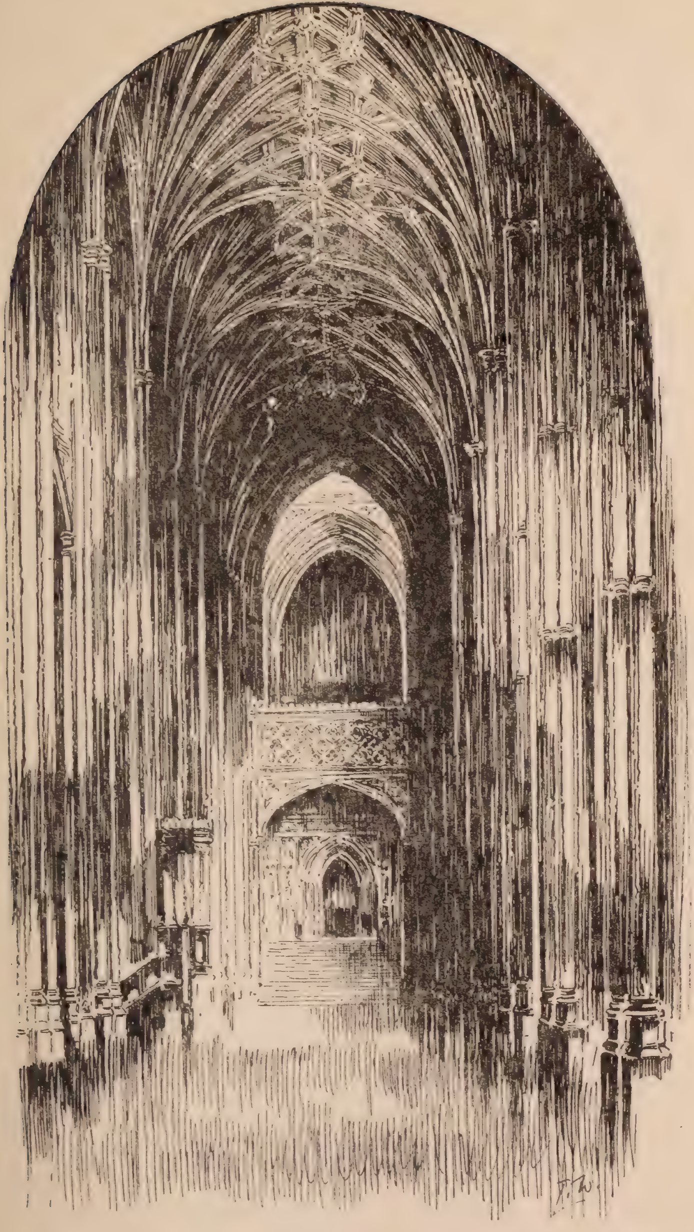
[1] "Calendar of Papal Registers," R.S., vol. iv. p. 507.

[2] Somner, p. 89, and app. p. 24; and Willis's "Architectural History," p. 118.



The Nave

its height—a defect which is most apparent in the side aisles, which at Canterbury are carried up much higher than at Winchester, the nave of which cathedral was undergoing transformation at the same period. Moreover, at Winchester the Norman piers were encased in new ashlar work, which of course increased their diameter and produced a bolder effect than the slender columns of Canterbury. The roof of the latter cathedral with its elaborate lierne vaulting is doubtless a beautiful feature, but even there the numerous shields of arms emblazoned on its bosses serve but to remind us that the age of faith had given place to the age of heraldry. "No reflection of religious zeal can be discerned in the architectural expression of the naves of Winchester and Canterbury," says Mr. E. G. Prior; "rather must we see in them the tomb of the religious sentiment of art, as their ordered and scientific panelling first overlaid and then wiped out of existence the architecture of faith."[1]

With regard to the internal arrangement of the new nave, the Lady Chapel, which in Lanfranc's church occupied the two eastern bays of the north aisle, was replaced by Chillenden in the same position. But the casing of the Norman piers of the great central tower with new ashlar work necessitated a rearrangement of the flight of steps leading to the choir; and the screen with the great Rood over it, which, according to Gervase's description, formerly stood between the western piers of the tower, was now removed, and in its place a lofty iron grille with central gates was erected. This grille, which extended right across the church, is shown in the view of the nave published by Dart in 1726, and it kept its place until 1743, when it was removed; and the iron gates were set up again in the western and southern porches, where they still remain.

Between the eastern piers Chillenden built a new stone screen. Eastry's screen, however, was not destroyed but was left to form the eastern face of the new one. The increased width gave space for a commodious loft or *pulpitum* above, over which the Rood was suspended. Chillenden's choir screen is a very beautiful and elaborate piece of work, which, although it has been subjected to some *restoration*, remains to-day substantially as he left it. Its most remarkable features are the sculptured figures which adorn its western front. These are arranged in two tiers. In the upper one there is a central niche and twelve subsidiary ones, which in modern times have been filled respectively by figures of our Lord and the twelve Apostles. But the six large figures of the lower tier—three on either side of the central doorway—are ancient. From the fact that all are crowned we may conclude that they represent kings, but their identification has never been established satisfactorily. There can be little doubt, however, that the figure on the left-hand side of the doorway, holding the model of a church, is intended to represent King Ethelbert, the royal founder of Christ Church. Possibly the next figure on the same side, the features of which are of a feminine cast and in which the drapery is arranged in a different manner from the rest, may be intended for Queen Bertha. The bearded figure on the right-hand side of the doorway, with the right hand slightly raised, may perhaps be King Edward the Confessor. The sword, however, which has been placed in the left hand of this figure, is a modern addition, for which no authority is known; it certainly was not there when Britton published his drawing of the screen in 1836.[1] The next figure on the same side, from the resemblance of the features to those of the effigy on Henry IV's tomb in the retrochoir, has been considered to represent that monarch; while the next may be that of his unfortunate predecessor, Richard II. Both kings were liberal contributors to the rebuilding of the nave, and were therefore likely to be commemorated in this way.

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[1] "Cathedral Builders in England," p. 86.

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[1] "The History and Antiquities of the Metropolitical Church of Canterbury," by John Britton, London, 1836.

Chillenden's archway over the central doorway is considerably higher than that of Eastry's screen, which still forms an inner arch beneath the newer work, and the tympanum between the two arches is filled in with panelled work. On the apex of the outer arch is a niche, now filled by a silver-gilt figure of our Lord in the attitude of blessing.[1] In the soffits of the loftier archway are twelve mitred niches which once contained figures of the twelve Apostles, arranged in pairs. These images were destroyed by the Puritans, but the iron staples which once held them in their places remain.

Although during Chillenden's priorate vast sums of money were spent upon the nave, the choir was by no means neglected. Chief among the decorative work carried out here was the erection of what would now be called a reredos for the high altar, but which appears in contemporary records as a new *tabula*. Of this magnificent and costly work, which occupied six years in the making (1394–1400), several interesting particulars have been preserved. The *tabula*, which was of silver and weighed 903 lb. troy, was doubtless of tabernacle work, in which were set images of the same precious metal; since we know that amongst the benefactions of Archbishop Courtenay were an image of the Holy Trinity and six others of the Apostles, all of silver-gilt and worth £340.[2] Another notable ornament which is mentioned in the list of Chillenden's good works in connection with the new *tabula* is "an image of the Blessed

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[1] The gift of Mrs. Hughes D'Aeth, of Canterbury, in 1899.

[2] "Item unam ymaginem Sancti Trinitatis preciosiorem cum sex apostolis argenteis et nobiliter deauratis ad tabulam summi altaris . . . que quidem ymagines ad valorem cccxl librarum appreciantur in presenti." Register S, f. 23.

Virgin, with four angels of silver and gilt, and with a precious cup of gold with gems in the hand of the Virgin for putting in the body of Christ ascending and descending at pleasure."[1] Of this curious and unusual arrangement for hanging the pyx, Mr. St. John Hope quotes another instance from the will of a parishioner of Walberswick, in Suffolk, where the testator left ten pounds to his parish church in 1500 to be spent upon "a canope over the hygh awter welle done with oure lady and iiij angelys and the Holy Ghost going upp and doune with a cheyne."[2]

At the same time a screen of woodwork, elaborately carved and adorned with colour and gilding, was set up behind the altars of St. Alphege and St. Dunstan, which stood respectively north and south of the high altar.[3]

The dedication of this magnificent altar-piece, on which the convent spent the astounding sum of £3428, was the first official act of Archbishop Arundel after his return from exile in the year 1400. Its subsequent fate may be briefly recorded here. Although it would appear that Henry VIII did not lay his sacrilegious hands on the massive silver *tabula*, since in an inventory made at the time of the suppression of the priory it is mentioned amongst the goods "left to remain in the church," it did not survive the scrutiny of Edward VI's commissioners, for in the first year of his reign it was sent to London by order of the Privy Council.[4] Part of the wooden screen-work, however, though grievously defaced by the Puritans in the seventeenth century, seems to have been *in situ* until the altar was removed from its ancient position in 1825 and set back to the place it now occupies, for Brayley in his "Beauties of England and Wales" (published in 1808) says: "At the back of the present screen stands the old screen, which was once splendidly ornamented with blue and gold, and still displays whole-length figures of the Apostles, &c."

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[1] "Et una ymagine beatae virginis cum corona aurea et gemmis, cum iiij Angelis argenteis et deauratis et cipho aureo precioso cum gemmis in manu virginis pro corpore Xpi imponendo, ascendendo et descendendo quum placet." Roll C, 166.

[2] "Inventories of Christ Church, Canterbury," 1902, p. 110, note.

[3] "Maius vero altare cum duobus altaribus sanctorum Dunstani et Elphegi opere argenteo et aureo et ligneo subtiliter inciso decenter ornavit." Obituary of Christ Church, Canterbury, Lambeth MS. 20, f. 210*b*. *See also* "A Monastic Chronicle," edited by C. Eveleigh Woodruff, in *Archæologia Cantiana*, vol. xxix.

[4] "Acts of the Privy Council of England," New Series, vol. ii. p. 529.

After dwelling so long on the splendours of the new altar-piece, it seems a sad bathos to proceed to describe the whitewashing of the choir—a method of beautifying churches which in many minds is connected with the worst traditions of the last century. But the practice was one which was by no means confined to what has been called the "churchwarden period," since all through the Middle Ages it was in vogue, partly no doubt as a sanitary measure. Thus the *dealbacio chori* obtains an honourable place in the list of Chillenden's works, and was deemed such an important matter that a special subscription list was opened to defray the cost, to which all sorts and conditions of men contributed, from the Prior, who gave 6s. 8d., to John Brown, citizen and plumber, who contributed 10s.[1]

Another piece of work undertaken in the choir was the repavement of the north aisle and adjoining transept, where the neat marble blocks, laid in a set design, still afford a striking contrast to the irregular slabs of divers materials with which the south aisle is paved. A further improvement carried out in the same aisle was the removal of certain chambers used as lodgings for the sub-sacrists. These apartments, which our Christ Church chronicler says "obstructed in a very unseemly manner the passage leading to the shrine of St. Thomas," were probably little more than wooden partitions. They were now cleared away, and new quarters provided for the sub-sacrists over the chapel of St. Andrew, in which a new floor was inserted so as to form a second story.[1] This was a convenient situation for the above-named officials, for it placed them close to the *vestiarium*, where their duties principally lay.

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[1] Sacrist's Account Roll, 1392–93.

Of Chillenden's additions to the conventual buildings, the first in importance, though not in chronological order, was the reconstruction of the Chapter-house, or at least of all that part of it which lay above Prior Eastry's arcading. The new roof, which was made in the form of a waggon vault, was covered with a panel-work of ribs decorated with gilding and colour and carrying at their intersection heraldic shields. This work was put in hand in the year 1405-6 and cost about a thousand pounds.

The great dormitory also received a new roof and windows, and the Norman passage leading thence to the north-east transept of the church was raised in height; as also was the circular water tower or lavatory, near the entrance to the prior's chapel. In the pyramidal leaden roof of this tower the monks thought they could trace some resemblance to a bell, and as its diameter happened to coincide with that of a bell in the central tower known as the "Jesus bell," the tower acquired the curious name of the "Bell-Jesus."

The transformation of the great cloister, which resulted in the substitution of an elaborately groined and complex stone vault for the wooden lean-to roof of the Norman cloister, was begun by Chillenden, but was left incomplete at his death; the roll says, *adhuc non completum*. Indeed, it seems probable from the large sum of money expended on the cloister by his successor that here Chillenden's work did not extend

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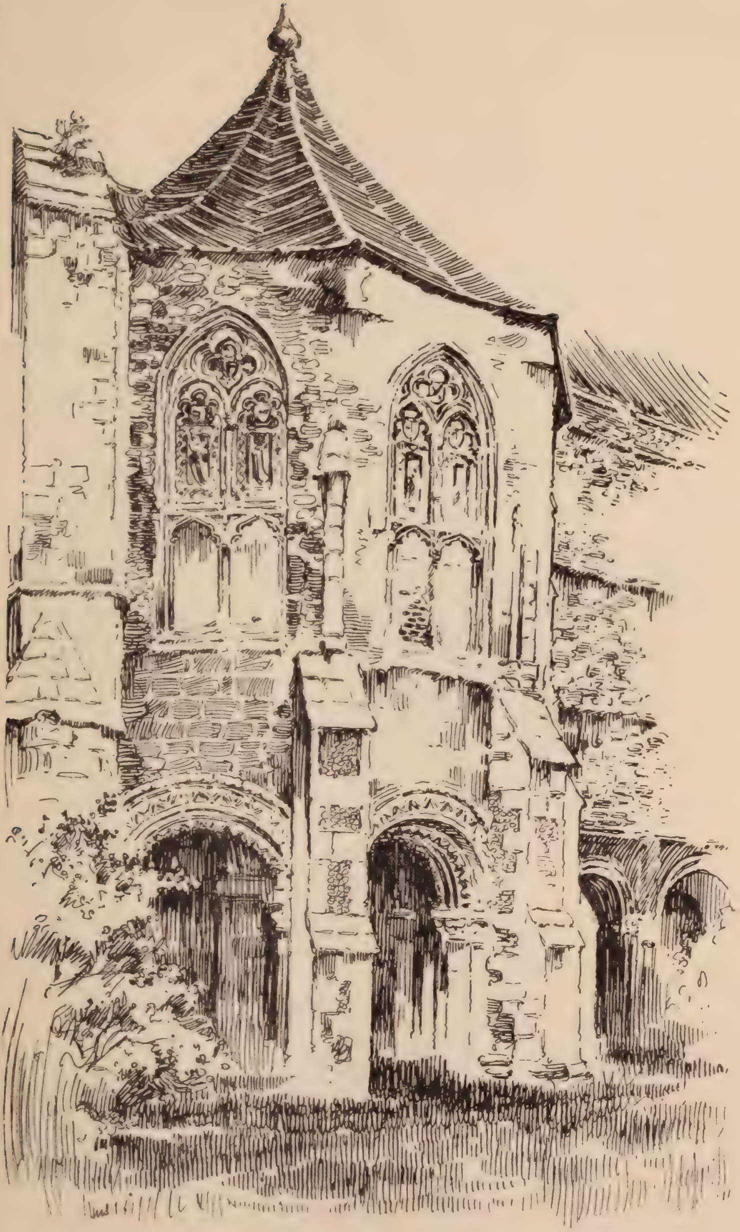
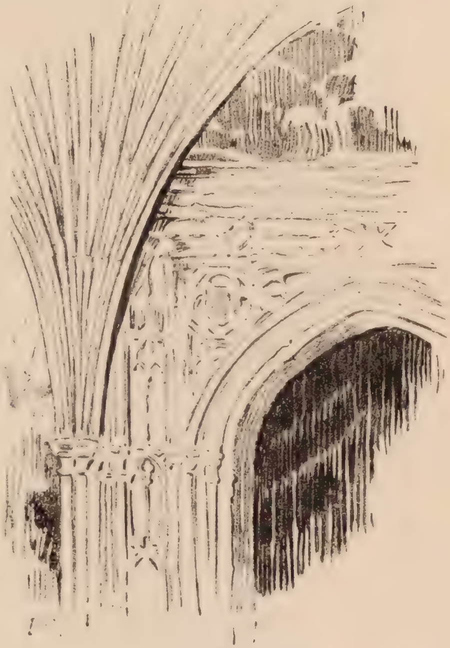
[1] The floor was removed about fifty years ago, but the blocked-up doorway high up in the north wall of the chapel shows that the room was approached by the staircase in the thickness of the wall which now leads only to the room over the treasury.



The Water-Tower

beyond the southern alley, towards the rebuilding of which Archbishop Courtenay contributed two hundred pounds. The rebuilding of the nave must have necessitated the demolition of this south alley, and it is probable that after this was re-erected in the new style its appearance gave so much satisfaction that it was resolved for the sake of uniformity to give similar treatment to the three remaining sides of the quadrangle. A new school for the novices was built at the same time, which, since it is mentioned in connection with the cellarer's lodging, was probably at the southern end of that building, and was approached by the little door on the right-hand side of the main entrance at the western end of the south alley of the cloister.


Doorway from the Cloister to the Infirmary

To his own private apartments Chillenden made many important improvements, but as the Prior's lodgings are no longer in existence we need not describe them particularly; perhaps one of the most remarkable was the addition of a bathroom (*alia camera inferius cum camino et balneo honesto*)—surely a rarity in any house in the fifteenth century!

In the court of the priory a new chamber was built over the Norman gate-house, the great semicircular arch of which was strengthened by the insertion on its western side of two four-centred archways—a greater one for carts and a lesser one for pedestrians.[1] From the court gate to the portal of the cellarer's hall a covered way or pentise was erected, part of which still remains in the gardens of the Bishop of Dover and of the Seneschal. This pentise, which is constructed of timber and covered with a tiled roof, was put up in the year 1393–94, and cost £110. A work of much greater magnitude was the rebuilding of the length of city wall which lay between the North-gate and Queningate. The latter, which occupied a position a little to the north of the present postern opposite to St. Augustine's College, is said to have derived its name from the tradition that Queen Bertha, while her husband, King Ethelbert, was still a pagan, was accustomed to pass this way to her devotions in the little church of St. Martin outside the city walls. Between the two gates there had been a public right of way, known as Queningate Lane, enclosed on one side by the convent wall and on the other by that of the city. The prior and chapter now acquired from the city fathers this narrow strip of ground, and in return undertook to rebuild this portion of the wall and to keep it in repair. This was now done by Chillenden, and his work is still to be identified by the four square bastion towers (the rest are semicircular) which project from the length of the wall which lies between the points already indicated. The above work was probably undertaken early in his priorate, since Archbishop Courtenay, whose death occurred in 1393, gave £266 13s. 4d. towards it.

Extensive repairs were carried out by Chillenden to house property in the city of Canterbury, in the country, and in London.

He rebuilt Canterbury College in Oxford, of which

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[1] The corresponding arches on the eastern side of the gate were inserted in the last century.

The Pentise

we shall give some account in a later chapter; and the great inn at the south-west corner of Mercery Lane in Canterbury, known to Chaucer as the "Cheker of the Hope." The latter was a very costly piece of work, for in all £867 14s. 4d. was spent upon it. Possibly the outlay was not a particularly good investment, since pilgrimages to the shrine of "the holy blissful martyr" declined rapidly towards the end of the century; and doubtless it was with an eye to catering for the wants of the miscellaneous assemblage of persons drawn to Canterbury by the reputation of the wonder-working saint that the convent spent such an enormous sum on the erection of this hostel.

The various works enumerated above, though by no means all that Chillenden undertook, are sufficient to show his passion for building. Nor was his zeal in providing for the adjuncts of divine service less conspicuous than that displayed upon the fabric of the church, for the *compotus* roll above referred to gives an amazing list of ornaments, jewels, and vestments acquired during his priorate. The latter may be summarised as follows: A set of thirty-nine copes of cloth of gold; a red suit with twenty-two albes; and "a great suit of copes of green colour, namely, ninety-six copes, with five chasubles, six tunicles, two dalmatics, seventy-six albes, stoles, and fanons, and all the gear of the high altar and of St. Alphege and St. Dunstan."[1] Some of these vestments no doubt formed part of the munificent gift of John Buckingham, sometime Bishop of Lincoln, who resigned his see and retired to Canterbury, where he was taken into fraternity by the monks of Christ Church, and after a sojourn of twenty-four weeks ended his days in the house called "Master Omers" on March 10, 1397,[2] leaving to the prior and convent his pastoral staff and many valuable vestments and ornaments.

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[1] "Inventories of Christ Church," *op. cit.* p. 103.

[2] "In quodam manso vulgariter Meistr' Omers nuncupato." *Causton's Obituary.*

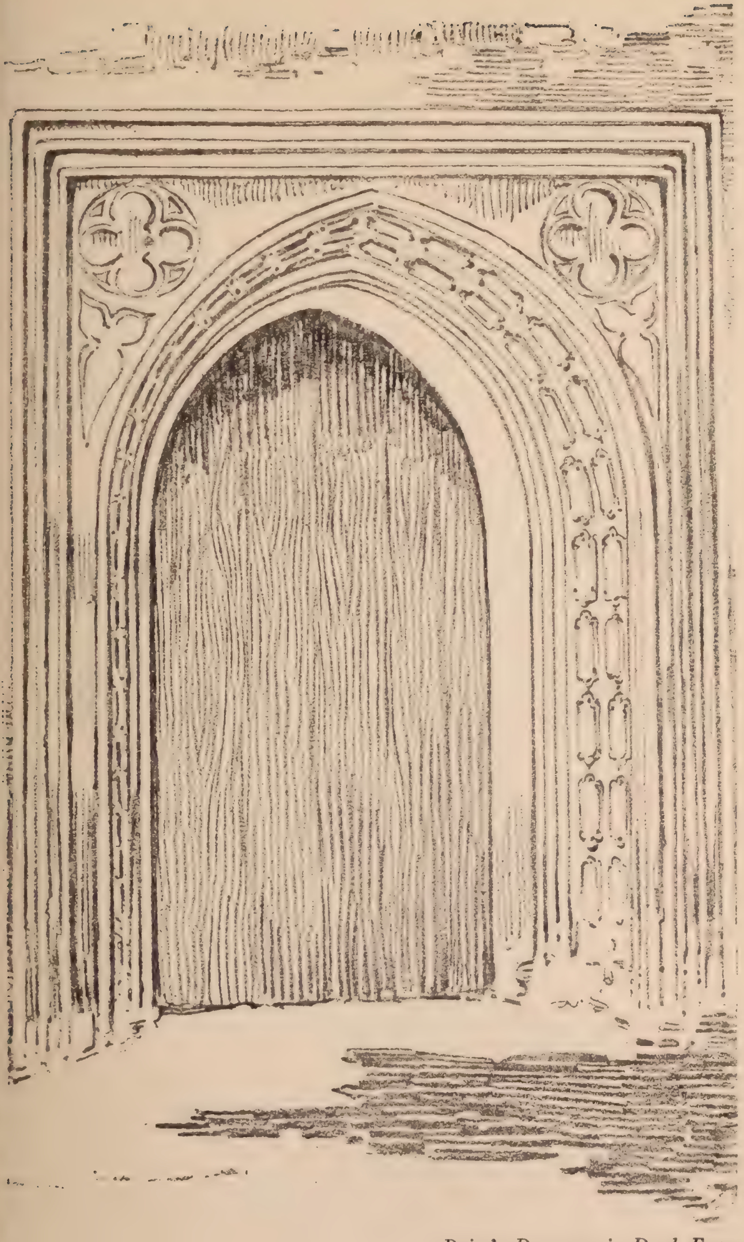
Bishop Buckingham had intended to found a chantry in the cathedral church, but his death occurred before this could be carried out. His wishes, however, were fulfilled by his executors, who in 1399 paid over to the prior and chapter the sum of twelve hundred marks as the endowment of a chantry chapel to be erected near the bishop's tomb in the nave, at which prayers and masses might be said for the repose of the souls of the founder, of his parents, "of King Edward III, of Thomas de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, and of Henry de Ferrars, lately lord of Groli."

The foundation deed provided that the chapel should be served by two priests, who in addition to their duties in the chantry, should assist in the almonry chapel on Sundays and feast days; and, further, that both the chaplains were to dress alike, live together in a house in the precincts, and receive from the convent an annual stipend of ten marks each, an allowance of "six yards of good cloth with a sufficient trimmings of fur, a candle from Michaelmas to Whitsuntide, and one load of firewood.[1]

No traces of Buckingham's chantry are left. But from a plan of the various monumental slabs made previous to the repaving of the nave in the eighteenth century, it appears that the bishop's tomb was opposite the seventh bay of the north aisle, nearly in a line with the procession door from the cloister, and we know from the foundation deed that the chapel was near the tomb.[2] It therefore seems likely that the chapel was beneath the seventh arch of the north aisle, and enclosed by screen-work perhaps similar to that which still remains round Bishop Bubwith's chantry in the nave of Wells Cathedral.

[1] Register D, f. 313.

[2] "In quadam capella juxta tumbam ejusdem patris defuncti et ubi corpus ejusdem jacet humatum." *Cart. Antiq.* C. 144.



Prior's Doorway in Dark Entry

Another chantry founded in the church when Chillenden was prior was that of Lady Mohun in the chapel of St. Mary in the crypt. This lady, who was the daughter of Bartholomew de Burghersh, Baron Burghersh (or Burwash), and the widow of John de Mohun, eighth Baron of Dunster in Somerset, deserved well of the prior and convent of Christ Church in that she had obtained from King Richard II a munificent donation towards the rebuilding of the nave. In return for these good offices, and a fee of three hundred and fifty marks, a moiety of her manor of Selgrave, and further gifts of ornaments and vestments for the church, Lady Mohun was allowed to found her chantry and erect her tomb with recumbent effigy on the south side of the sanctuary of the chapel of St. Mary in the undercroft. At the altar of the said chapel requiem masses were said by one of the monks, to whom a stipend of forty shillings a year was allotted. This agreement was entered into in 1395, and the tomb (which unfortunately involved the destruction of the screen-work of the south-eastern bay of the chapel) must have been finished by 1404, since in that year Lady Mohun made her will and gave instructions for the burial of her body "in the sepulchre or monument which I have caused to be made, at my expense, near the image of St. Mary *in criptis* of the church of Canterbury."[1]

Thomas Chillenden, as we have seen, effected an almost complete transformation of the cathedral and its surroundings, and it is solely as a builder that his name is now remembered at Canterbury; but to his contemporaries these were not the sole reasons for the esteem and honour in which he was held. Even before he became prior he had represented his house in the Roman *curia* with so much success that he had obtained a papal bull conferring important privileges on the priors of Christ Church. During his priorate

[1] Arundel's "Register," i. 218*b*.

he was on several occasions summoned to the councils of the nation; indeed, he was present at the Parliament which compelled Richard II to sign a deed of renunciation of the crown. He was, however, the last prior of Christ Church to whom a writ was addressed. In almost the last year of his life he attended the Council of Pisa as one of the representatives of the King of England. The Council declared that both the rival Popes were schismatics, perjurers, and heretics, and by the election of the Cardinal of Milan, who took the name of Alexander V, the great schism in the Western Church was healed. This was on June 5, 1409, and on the 25th of August Chillenden landed at Sandwich, where he was received with the greatest enthusiasm by a vast concourse of clergy and lay folk, by whom he was escorted to Canterbury with every demonstration of joy.[1]

His death occurred on the feast of the Assumption 1411, and although he can scarcely have been an old man, since he had only made his profession some thirty-five years earlier, his life had been so strenuous that we are scarcely surprised to read in his obituary "that his body had become so emaciated that the skin scarcely covered the bones."[2]

He was buried at the upper end of the central alley of the nave. His memorial stone, once inlaid with his effigy in brass, was removed in 1787 when the nave was repaved, and can no longer be identified; but in Canterbury Cathedral it may be said of Thomas Chillenden, as of Sir Christopher Wren in St. Paul's, London; *Si monumentum requiris circumspice.*

C. E. W.

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[1] "Cum omni clero populique tripudio ad ecclesiam suam reversus." *Ch. Ch. Cant. MS.* c. 14.

[2] MS. D. 12, Christ Church, Canterbury.

CHAPTER X

FROM THE DEATH OF THOMAS CHILLENDEN TO THE DISSOLUTION OF THE PRIORY

1411–1540

Waterspout of the South Porch

The extraordinary expenditure upon bricks and mortar which had marked the priorate of Thomas Chillenden left the convent deeply in debt. There was an adverse balance of more than a thousand pounds when John of Wodensburgh was elected prior in 1411—a burden which was increased by the fact that many of the buildings commenced by his predecessor still awaited completion, one of which, viz. the rebuilding of the great cloister, would admit of no delay. Fortunately the new Prior was a man of excellent business capacity, and so successfully did he grapple with the financial problem that in less than three years he not only cleared off the liabilities bequeathed to him by his predecessor, but could point to a substantial balance of more than eight hundred pounds on the right side of the monastic ledger.[1] The merit of this achievement is greatly enhanced by the fact that during the same short period more than five hundred pounds were spent upon the cloister, which seems to have been finished in the year 1414.

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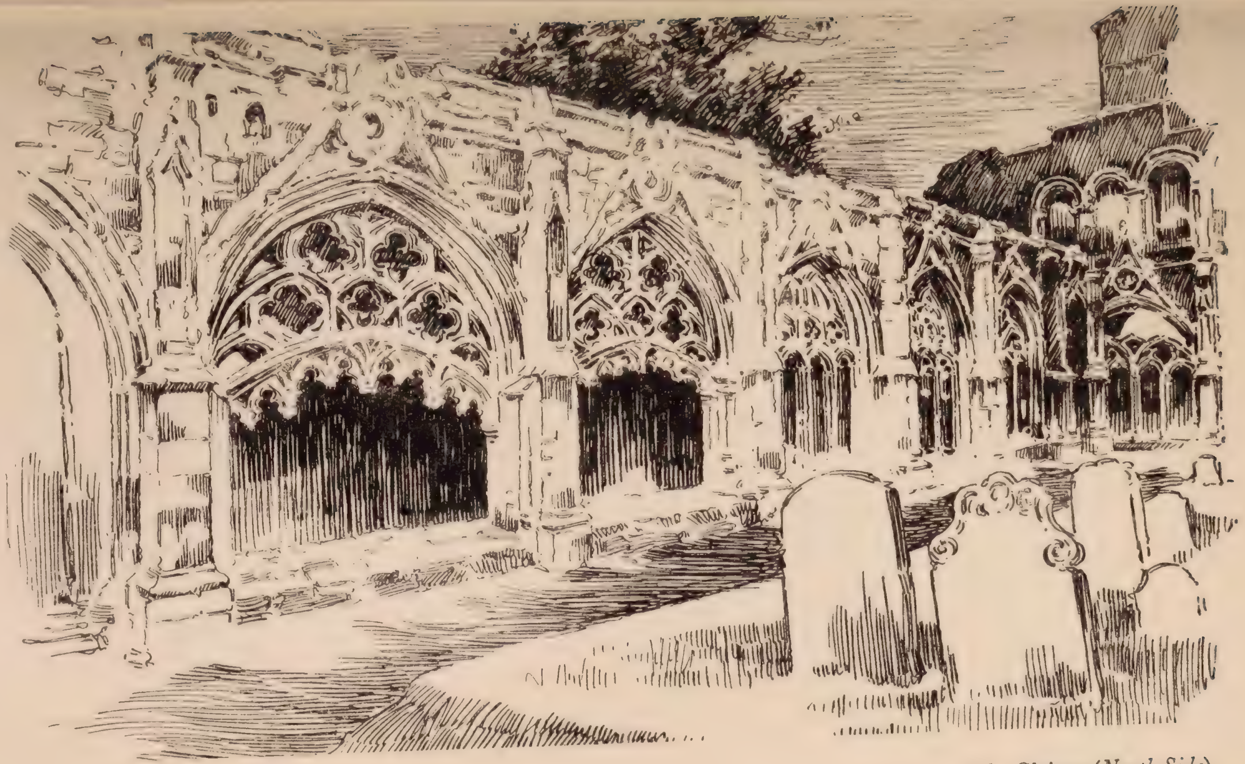
[1] For an account of Wodensburgh's economic reforms, *see* the Anonymous Christ Church Chronicle (E. 14) printed in *Archæologia Cantiana*, vol. xxix.

The cloister of Canterbury Cathedral (though greatly inferior to that of Gloucester, which in many respects it closely resembles) is even in its present dilapidated condition a very beautiful specimen of the architecture of the early years of the fifteenth century. Perhaps its most remarkable feature is the extraordinarily diffuse display of heraldic coats which decorate the elaborately groined roof. Willement, who counted more than eight hundred of these shields and described them in his "Heraldic Notices of the Cathedral," points out how excellent must have been the effect when the colours and tinctures of the various coats were fresh.

It is generally believed that the arms displayed are those of contributors to the work. Conspicuous amongst them are those of King Henry IV, who certainly was a liberal donor towards the building funds, for Leland records that "he helped to build up a good part of the body of the church."

Henry IV, however, could scarcely have seen the new cloister, for before it was finished his dead body was brought to Canterbury for interment.

The event was unique in the annals of Christ Church, for neither before nor since have the doors of the metropolitical church been opened to receive the remains of an English king. Possibly, as the founder of a new dynasty, Henry may have desired to create a precedent which might make the mother-church the mausoleum of a long line of Lancastrian kings. But if he entertained any such hope, it was doomed to disappointment, for his example was never followed. The King's body was brought by water to Faversham, and thence by road to Canterbury, where on Trinity Sunday in the year 1413 the funeral obse-



The Cloister (North Side)

quies were performed by Archbishop Arundel and Prior Wodensburgh in the presence of King Henry V, and all the great nobility of the land.

The spot chosen for the interment of the royal corpse was the most honourable that the church could offer, namely, on the north side of the shrine of St. Thomas and immediately opposite to the tomb of Edward the Black Prince, whose son, the ill-fated Richard II, Henry of Bolingbroke had ousted from the throne. In his will the King left instructions for the erection of a chantry chapel near to his tomb in which "twey prestis" should sing and pray for his soul; but it would seem that neither the chapel nor the fine alabaster tomb which now covers his remains was erected until after the death of the Queen-Consort, which did not occur until some four-and-twenty years later. In the meantime, it is likely that the royal coffin rested upon a herse or temporary framework of timber draped with rich hangings and surrounded by numerous wax tapers. It is clear that the herse must have been a magnificent and costly piece of furniture, since when it was no longer required the prior and convent were able to sell it for a sum of money equivalent to more than one thousand pounds at the present time. This was after the death of Queen Joan, who died at Havering in 1437, and was brought to Canterbury for burial.

Two years later the Bishop of Ross hallowed an altar in honour of King Edward the Confessor in the little chantry chapel built between the buttresses of the north aisle of St. Thomas's Chapel and in close proximity to the royal tomb.[1] The latter, in spite of the mutilation of some of the details and the loss of the colour and gilding which once adorned it, is still a very fine example of the art of the monumental mason of the period.

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[1] "Stone's Chronicle," ed. M. R. James for the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, p. 26.

The tomb, which is placed beneath the second arch of the chapel, is surmounted by a wooden canopy or tester, supported at each end by a panel of the same material. On the western panel was painted a representation of the martyrdom of St. Thomas. This is now almost entirely obliterated, but it was apparently in better preservation when William Carter made a drawing of it in 1760 for his "Specimens of Ancient Paintings, Glass, Woodwork, &c.," from which source the plate on p. 67 is taken.

On the opposite panel are faint traces of the figure of an angel holding a shield emblazoned with arms. On the underside of the canopy three shields are portrayed, each surrounded with the letters "SS," linked together; in the centre are the arms of Evreux impaling Navarre; at one end are the same arms quartered, and at the other end those of France and England quarterly. Across the ceiling in diagonal lines are the words "Soveragne" and "a temperance," alternately repeated, and the same words occur again on the cornice. The groundwork of the ceiling appears to have been painted twice over and in different designs. The under one, which in many parts is very perceptible, consisted of eagles and greyhounds, each surrounded by the garter and placed in alternate diagonal stripes. In the last painting the ground was blue with sprigs and flowers of gold and green.[1]

The King and Queen are represented with coronets on their heads and arrayed in royal robes. Around the Queen's neck is a collar of "SS," said to be one of the earliest instances of this decoration; and beautifully executed representations of jewels and embroidery adorn the coronet and dress. Concerning the effigies, the late Edward Blore, in his "Monumental remains of royal and illustrious Persons," says:

> There can be little doubt that they were the workmanship of one of the ablest artists of the time; and as the features have sustained

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[1] Willement, *ut supra*, pp. 51–53.

> but little injury, and are marked with that decided character which belongs to a portrait alone, we may conclude that the artist has transmitted to us a faithful representation of the features of the royal personages.

This conjecture was to some extent verified (at least as far as the King is concerned) when the tomb was opened in the last century.

A pretext for prying into the royal sepulchre was found in the fact that a contemporary writer, one Clement of Maidstone, retails some tittle-tattle which was current in his day to the effect that the sailors, being alarmed by a tempest when they were conveying the royal corpse to Faversham, took it from its coffin and threw it overboard.[1] In order to ascertain the truth or falsity of this tale, the tomb was opened by order of the dean and chapter on August 21, 1832. The following description of the proceedings is from the pen of Dr. Spry, one of the canons, who was an eye-witness of all that was done:[2]

> On removing a portion of the marble pavement at the western end of the monument . . . we came to what appeared to be a wooden case of very rude form and construction. . . . It lay east and west, projecting beyond the monument towards the west for about one-third of its length. Upon it, to the east and entirely within the monument, lay a leaden coffin without any wooden case, of much smaller size and very singular shape, being formed by bending one sheet of lead over another and soldering them at the junctions. This coffin was supposed to contain the remains of Queen Joan, and was not disturbed. Not being able to take off the lid of the large coffin, as a great portion of its length was under the tomb, and being unwilling to move the alabaster monument for the purpose of getting at it, it was decided to saw through the lid, about three feet from what was supposed to be the head of the coffin. And this being done, the piece of wood was carefully removed, and found to be of elm, very coarsely worked, about one inch and a half thick. Immediately under this elm board was a quantity of hay bands, filling the coffin, and upon the surface of them lay a very rude small

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[1] "A History of the Martyrdom of Richard Scrope, Archbishop of York," Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, vol. ii. p. 372.

[2] Some further justification of the action of the Chapter is furnished by the recent furbishing up of Clement's gossip in a letter by a well-known author to a London newspaper.

> cross, formed by merely tying two twigs together. This fell to pieces on being moved. When the hay bands were removed we found a leaden case or coffin, moulded in some degree to the shape of a human figure, and it was at once evident that this had never been disturbed. . . . In order to ascertain what was contained in this leaden case it became necessary to saw through a portion of it, and in this manner an oval piece of the lead . . . was carefully removed. Under this we found wrappers which seemed to be of leather, and afterwards proved to have been folded five times round the body. . . . These wrappers were cut through and lifted off, when to the astonishment of all present the face of the deceased King was seen in complete preservation, the nose elevated, the cartilage even remaining; though on the admission of the air it sunk rapidly away, and had entirely disappeared before the examination was finished. The skin of the chin was entire . . . the beard thick and matted and of a deep russet colour. . . . Having thus ascertained that the body of the King was actually deposited in the tomb, and that it had never been disturbed, the wrappers were again laid upon the face, the lead drawn back over them, the lid of the coffin put on, the rubbish filled in, and the marble pavement replaced immediately.[1]

Archbishop Arundel did not long survive his royal master, for his death occurred on February 15 in the following year. In accordance with the instructions contained in his will his body was buried in the nave of the cathedral, where he had made arrangements during his lifetime for the erection of a chantry chapel.[2] The chapel was swept away soon after the suppression of the monastery, and there has been some uncertainty about its position. We think, however, that there is sufficient evidence to show that it was beneath the second arch (counting from the east end) of the north arcade of the nave, its screens doubtless projecting into the central alley. Thus, Leland amongst the "High Tumbes of Bishops that be in the body of the Chirch,"[3] mentions Arundel "under a piller on the north side." And

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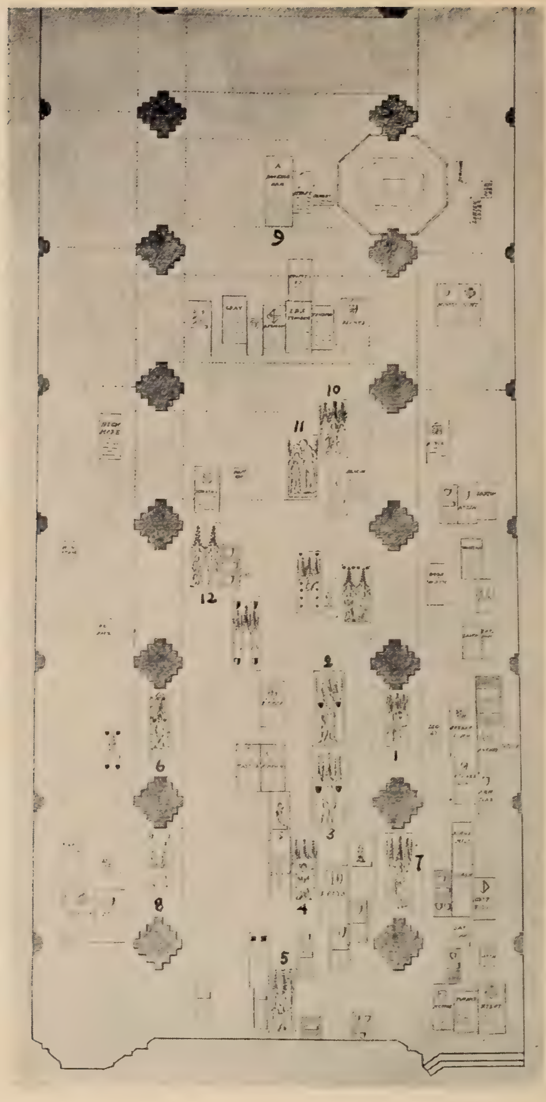
[1] *Archæologia Cantiana*, vol. viii. pp. 294–99.

[2] "In monumento meo novo quod ad hoc licet indignissime construi et fieri feci in navi sancte Cantuariensis ecclesie, infra Cantariam meam perpetuam duorum capellanorum inibi ordininatam." Register S, ff. 77.

[3] "Itinerary," ed. T. Hearne, vi. 4.



1. Archbishop Arundel
2. Prior Thos. Chillenden
3. Prior John Wodensburg
4. Prior John Elham
5. Prior John Salisbury
6. Archbishop Simon Islip
7. Archbishop William Wittlesey
8. Sir William Lovelace
9. Bishop John Buckingham
10. Sir William Septvans, Senior ?
11. Sir William Septvans, Junior ?
12. Sir William Brenchley ?

PLAN OF THE FLOOR OF THE NAVE

Before the Removal of the Gravestones in 1787

Somner says much the same, adding: "but chantery and monument both are gone, a bare gravestone levelled with the floor, with the brass all shamefully torn away, being only left; whereas you may know there sometime stood a Chapel . . . wherein both the Archbishop lay fairly intombed, and his two Chanterists did daily celebrate."[1] A reference to the plan of the memorial stones on the floor of the nave, made before its repavement in 1787, and now preserved in the Chapter library, shows that the only slab which at all corresponds to Somner's description is placed against the second pier of the north arcade. That this stone marks the tomb of Arundel receives further confirmation from the fact that a little to the south of it is another slab, bearing the matrix of an effigy of an ecclesiastic, which we take to be that of Thomas Chillenden, of whom Somner writes: "He was a man well beloved of Archbishop Courtenay, but more dear to his successor Arundel, and lies *hard beside him* in the nave or body of the Church."[2]

Arundel's chantry, which was endowed out of the rectory of Northflete, was served by two secular priests, to each of whom was assigned a stipend of ten pounds a year, and a house for their joint occupation was built on the south side of the cathedral, probably on the site now occupied by the organist's house.

One purpose for which this chantry was founded is especially worthy of note, namely, that it might serve as an oratory for the lay folk whenever the gates in the iron grille, which extended across the upper end of the nave, happened to be closed. The lack at the present day of any side chapel in the nave for private prayer is greatly to be regretted.

Henry Chicheley, who succeeded Arundel in the primacy, was a personal friend of King Henry V, and a warm supporter of that monarch's ambitious designs upon the French crown. The priors of Christ Church as a rule were not notorious for their warlike proclivities; indeed, they too often seem to have been anxious to shirk their responsibilities in the matter of national defence; but on the eve of Agincourt it would seem that John Wodensburgh became infected with the war fever which was raging in the country, for he armed his retainers, "16 spearmen and 24 Bowmen, all well accoutred and furnished with complete arms."[1]

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[1] "Antiquities of Canterbury," ed. Battely, Part I. 136.

[2] Somner, *ut supra*, p. 147.

A few months later, after that famous victory which dealt so hardly with the chivalry of France, the King came to Canterbury and was received by Archbishop and Prior in the cathedral church, where he paid his devotions at the shrine of St. Thomas. Seven years afterwards his dead body rested for a few hours within the same walls on its way to Westminster. The King died at Bois de Vincennes on August 31, 1422, and the funeral train was met at Dover by the Archbishop and fifteen of his suffragans. All that pomp and pageantry could do to give honour to the great soldier was enlisted on the occasion.

> The funeral car was covered with scarlet silk embroidered with gold, and was drawn by six richly caparisoned horses. Upon the car besides the coffin was a waxen effigy of the King in his royal robes. Before and behind the car lamps were kept burning; and in front on each side marched heralds, bearing banners, followed by two hundred and fifty men all clad in white surplices and carrying lighted torches. Then followed the royal household in deep mourning, and several hundred knights and esquires in black armour, with plumes in their helmets and their lances reversed. Next came the princes of the blood and the King of Scotland, who acted as chief mourner. To this grand procession the Archbishop and his suffragans were now added; and in the rear of all followed the youthful widow. When the mournful train reached Canterbury a halt was made, and masses were sung from the first dawn of morning till nine in the evening. The Archbishop accompanied the remains of his royal master from Canterbury to Westminster, and there consigned his body to the tomb.[2]

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[1] Somner, *ut supra*, p. 148.

[2] "Chronological History of Canterbury Cathedral," by G. S., Canterbury, 1883.

The untimely death of his patron and friend had a deep effect upon Chicheley. It is said that on his death-bed he felt much remorse for the support he had given to a policy which had resulted in so much useless bloodshed. Perhaps some twinge of conscience already began to assail him, for the King's death was quickly followed by preparations for his own. To this end he caused a magnificent tomb (*mausoleum sumptuosum*) to be erected for his remains in his cathedral church. In contemporary records Chicheley's tomb is described as lying between the northern entrance to the choir and the reliquary cupboard, which at that time occupied the space now filled by the tomb of Archbishop Bourchier. By a composition entered into with the prior and convent, the latter agreed to say masses for the repose of the Archbishop's soul at the altar of St. Stephen in the adjoining transept ; and for the maintenance of the tomb a rent-charge of seven pounds a year was allotted out of the Archbishop's newly founded college of All Souls in Oxford. Thus the tomb has always been kept by the Warden and Fellows of that college in its pristine condition, and is still resplendent with colour and gilding. It must have been finished as early as the year 1425, since a letter from the Prior to the Archbishop dated in that year gives a curious account of an unseemly disturbance which took place near the Archbishop's new tomb during divine service. A criminal, one Bernard the goldsmith, had fled for refuge to the cathedral, and had taken sanctuary within the iron railings of Chicheley's tomb, whither he was pursued by the citizens, who beat him with cudgels through the rails and attempted to drag him out while high mass was being sung. For this sacrilegious conduct the prior asks for redress.[1]

The effigy upon Chicheley's tomb represents the Archbishop in full pontificals upon a table supported by three arches through which may be seen an emaciated *cadaver* in striking contrast to the effigy above. It is to be feared that the lesson which this arrangement was intended to teach is not always read aright by modern pilgrims ; for a lady from Margate has been heard to protest loudly against the indignity offered to the bishop's " poor wife " while her spouse lies so gloriously arrayed above !

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[1] Register S, f. 93.

Of Chicheley's activity as a represser of heresy—of which there is abundant evidence elsewhere—the archives of the church contain but a solitary instance, viz. a letter from the Prior certifying the Archbishop that two Lollards had abjured their errors, performed their penance, and obtained absolution. The penance consisted of walking in the processions of their respective parish churches clad only in shirt and breeches and carrying a lighted taper of half a pound weight, and in visiting the shrine of St. Thomas in similar attire.

Prior Wodensburgh, the author of the above letter, could not have had much further opportunity for hunting out Lollards, for his death occurred shortly afterwards, viz. on February 28, 1428. He was buried in the nave of the church at the feet of his predecessor.

The priorate of William Molash, who ruled the house for ten years (1428–38), was marked by at least one important addition to the fabric of the church, namely the rebuilding of the south-western tower. The work was, indeed, commenced by Wodensburgh, but the greater part was executed in Molash's time, who, however, did not carry the tower up to its present height. The fabric rolls relating to the building of this tower show that the ways and means adopted for raising funds were singularly like those in vogue at the present time (1912) for its repair. Thus, although an annual grant was made from the corporate funds of the Prior and Chapter, outside aid was largely relied upon. Then, too, there were voluntary contributions from the citizens of Canterbury, *e.g.* William

Marsh gives 20s., William Lane promises 20 marks in four years, and an anonymous friend (*de quodam amico*) subscribes 6s. 8d. But the bulk of the money was obtained in response to a brief issued by Archbishop Chicheley for "the new work in the cathedral church of Christ in Canterbury." From this source more than £560 was obtained. There is also a modern touch in the fact that the architect was a layman, one Thomas Mapylton, who did not reside in Canterbury, but paid periodical visits while the work was in progress, just as the architect of the Dean and Chapter does to-day; and on each occasion he received a fee (*pro opere disponendo*) and his travelling expenses; while Edward Durant acted as the resident clerk of the works.[1] Stone was brought in barges from Caen in Normandy to the convent's quay at Fordwich; from the north of England (*ab hominibus borealibus*) to Monkton, which at this period was apparently accessible to the sea by the Wantsum Channel; and from Merstham in Surrey. The Merstham stone was cheaper than the Caen stone, costing 4s. per ton, against 6s. for the Caen stone, but the land-carriage of the former brought the price up to almost the same figure.

The work went on for eleven years (1423–34), but was broken off before the topmost story was reached, and the tower was left unfinished for another five-and-twenty years. In the year 1459 the Bishop of Ross blessed a great bell named Dunstan *in navi ecclesie*,[2] which doubtless refers to the lineal ancestor of the bell which still hangs in the south-western tower and is known by that name. So that we may assume that at the above date the tower was finished.

The ceremony of blessing the bell took place when Thomas Goldston I was Prior, in whose obituary mention is made of his good work in completing the tower. Nevertheless, the greater part of it, including the porch, which is its most pleasing feature, was carried out under the auspices of Prior Molash and Archbishop Chicheley, and from the latter's connection with Oxford as the founder of All Souls College the tower has generally been called the "Oxford Steeple."

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[1] "Edwardo Durant pro stipendio suo pro supervisione exercendo circa operarios."

[2] "Stone's Chronicle," C. C. C. Camb. f. 63.

The more ambitious work of rebuilding the great central tower seems also to have been contemplated by Molash, and even put in hand, since John Stone records that "the first stone of the new work of the Angel steeple" was laid on August 4, 1433. This laying of the foundation-stone must refer to the commencement of an outer casing built round the Norman tower, and not to any rebuilding from the foundations, since the piers had already been strengthened by Chillenden, and the bells continued for some years longer to hang in the old tower; moreover the spire was reshingled at a considerably later date.

It was in connection with this work probably that the prior and convent in 1435 engaged the services of Richard Beck, master-mason. By the terms of the agreement,[1] Beck undertook "to do the governaunce, disposicion, rewle and entendaunce of all werkes of the Chirche" in return for a weekly wage of 4s.; "a convenient house," or 20s. in lieu of a house; 10s. for clothes, "if the prior give no livery"; and two pair of hose, as long as he could do his work, or, as the original puts it, "so long as he may bestir himself, see and walk." Should he, however, become incapacitated, a pension of 2s. a day with the above allowances was to be granted to him for life. From the liberal scale on which he was remunerated it is clear that Beck was at the top of his profession, and this supposition receives further confirmation from the fact that soon after he signed the above agreement he was called away to London to give advice to the mayor and aldermen about London Bridge. Perhaps Beck did not have much opportunity of displaying his talents at Canterbury, since within a very few years after his engagement the Prior, owing to pestilence and famine at home and disaster to the national arms abroad, was compelled to stay further building operations and " put away his masons." Our authority for this is a letter from a Christ Church monk to Cardinal Beaufort, who appears to have been closely associated with the convent of Christ Church at this time.[1] In 1433 the monks, in return for " the great benefits he had conferred upon their house," admitted him into confraternity and allotted to him the house formerly known as Master Omer's, which now became known as " Le Cardinallys Place." [2]

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[1] Cant. MS. L. 169.

The great cardinal's interest in Canterbury Cathedral was doubtless stimulated by the fact that several of his kinsfolk were buried within its walls. His half-brother, King Henry IV, had found a resting-place there in 1413, his brother, John Earl of Somerset, in 1410, and his nephew, Thomas Duke of Clarence, in 1421. Somerset and Clarence, who were the successive husbands of Margaret Holland, daughter of the Earl of Kent, had both been buried in St. Thomas's Chapel, at the spot now occupied by the monument to Dean Wotton.[3] The twice-widowed duchess, however, was anxious to erect a stately memorial for herself and her two husbands within the cathedral church. The site selected was the chapel of St. Michael, opening out of the south-west transept. In order to give floor-space for a tomb of exceptional size and magnificence, the Norman apsidal chapel was taken down and rebuilt on a more extended scale, with a rectangular east end, probably at the cost of the duchess, whose arms with those of her two husbands are sculptured on the vaulted roof of the chapel.

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[1] Cant. MS. Letters, Y. 143.

[2] *Literæ Cantuarienses*, R.S., vol. i. lxxxv.

[3] Stone, *ut supra*, f. 24*a*.

This alteration necessitated the disturbance of the tomb of Archbishop Stephen Langton, who had been buried before the altar of the old chapel, and his coffin was now placed under the altar of the new chapel, above ground, where it still remains. In order, however, to allow the coffin to be placed east and west without projecting inconveniently from the western face of the altar it was necessary to thrust its foot through the eastern wall—an arrangement which led the late Professor Willis to imagine that Langton had been buried originally in the churchyard, and that when the new chapel was built the eastern wall was made to stride over the coffin.[1]

Here then the duchess was permitted to erect a tomb of Purbeck marble with splendid alabaster effigies of herself and her two husbands. The whole work was apparently finished by December 18, 1439, when William Wellys, Bishop of Rochester, hallowed the altar. Eleven days later the Duchess of Clarence died at the convent of Bermondsey, and almost immediately after her decease the Prior received a royal mandate bidding him to superintend the exhumation of the bodies of Somerset and Clarence and their reinterment beside that of the duchess in St. Michael's Chapel.[2]

Above the chapel is a well-lighted chamber, having a vaulted roof on the keystones of which are three carved heads with the remains of three inscriptions. Gostling, in whose time they were more legible than at present, says: "The eastern one has *Tho: —— prior;* the middle one seems to have been *John Wodensberg;* the western one, *William Molassch, discipulus.*" He fills up the blank with Chillenden, and ascribes the entire chapel to him; but there is no mention of this work amongst the list of Chillenden's good deeds; and the architectural style is of a somewhat later date. In order to find another Prior Thomas we have to move on to 1448, when

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[1] Willis, *op. cit.* p. 129.

[2] Register S, f. 135.

Thomas Goldston I became Prior. In his days there was a John Wodensburg and a William Molash in the Convent, so it seems probable that this room was added by Prior Goldston I.

We may now pass on to the days of Goldston, omitting the short priorates of John Salisbury and John Elham, which were uneventful with relation to the fabric of the church, with the exception of the erection of a small chantry chapel, built in 1447 by Dame Joan Brenchley outside the south wall of the nave, and entered by a door beneath the fourth window (counting from the east). The altar of this chapel was dedicated to St. John the Baptist, and was served by a secular priest, to whom a stipend of ten pounds a year was allotted and a house in the parish of St. Alphege. By the ordination deed, masses were to be said daily here for the good estate of King Henry VI and of Queen Margaret, and for the repose of the soul of the founder's husband, Sir William Brenchley, sometime Chief Justice of the Common Pleas. The chantry was suppressed with similar foundations when the priory of Christ Church was dissolved, and the chapel fell into a ruinous condition until it was repaired by Dean Neville, early in the seventeenth century, as a burial-place for himself and members of his family. Hence it became known as the "Neville Chapel." For some reason which is not apparent the windows of the chapel were walled up in 1715.[1] It afterwards became a receptacle for rubbish, and was demolished in 1787 when the nave was repaved.

A far more important piece of work was put in hand in the first year of Goldston's priorate, viz. the building of a new Lady Chapel. The old chapel had occupied (as we have already said) the two eastern bays of the north aisle of the nave. The site chosen for the new one was that of the old apsidal chapel of St. Benedict opening out of the Martyrdom transept. The first stone was laid on September 9, 1448, and by January 1450 the walls must have been carried up some distance, for at that date Sir Henry Gray, Lord Powys, was buried in the chapel.[1] Before the end of 1455 the whole was finished, and dedicated in honour of the Assumption of Our Lady and St. Benedict. The old dedication, however, was soon forgotten, and henceforth the chapel appears as that of Our Lady.[2]

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[1] "For making fitt to sett 60 ft. of stone to close up ye windows in Nevill's Chapel, £1 10s." Chapter Accounts Book, *sub anno.*

Mr. St. John Hope describes the Lady Chapel as

> a handsome structure of two bays, with a rich fan vault. It is entered from the transept by a lofty arch, which is closed by a stone screen of beautiful design and workmanship, with heavily grated traceried openings. The stalls occupied the western bay, and to accommodate them and their canopies the richly ornamented jambs of the window arches which come down to the floor have been ruthlessly cut away. On the north side, near the east end, is a small doorway, now blocked, which led into the narrow space between the chapel and the Chapter-house. The eastern half of this formed the *atrium* or vestry.[3]

From the inventories of church goods taken in 1540 we learn that the chapel was furnished with a pair of organs and one large desk for the chaunters, and that all the hangings and vestments, as befitted a chapel of Our Lady, were white.

Prior Goldston I was himself buried in the chapel in 1468, where his memorial slab (bereft of its brass effigy) may still be seen; it is in the eastern bay, the next slab but one to the north wall.

The twenty years of Goldston's priorate were full of social and political unrest. In 1450 Jack Cade with four thousand of the commons of Kent encamped in a field between the churches of St. Michael Harbledown and St. Dunstan outside the Westgate; and although the rebels moved off towards London without attacking the city, the country manors of the priory suffered greatly from their depredations. Rumours of disloyalty penetrated even within the precinct of the church. A poor wretch confined in the prior's prison under the north hall confessed that he had heard Thomas Gate of Birchington say "that the King is not abyl to bere the fflour de lys nor the schyp in hys nobyl nor in hys armys," and that the Queen "was not abil to be queen of Ingland, and were he a pere or a lord of thys realm he would be one of them that shudde help to putte her adown for because that she berith no child and because that we have no prins in this land."

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[1] Stone, *ut supra*, f. 41.

[2] "Inventories of Christ Church," Messrs. Legg and Hope, London, 1902, p. 163.

[3] *Ibid. op. cit.* 165–66.

Although in the struggle between York and Lancaster Kent suffered less severely than the Midland counties, the civil war had a very disastrous effect upon trade and agriculture generally, and upon the finances of the priory of Christ Church in particular—a circumstance which is especially mentioned in Goldston's obituary.

We should have expected that the monks would have inclined to the Lancastrian cause, for the pious Henry VI was a familiar figure at Canterbury, whither he would ofttimes come afoot and make his offering at the shrine of St. Thomas in the humble garb of a pilgrim. But we have no evidence of any predilections on the part of the monks of Christ Church. As long as Henry was King they received him with all honour, but they were quite ready to transfer their allegiance to the Duke of York when by force of arms he had won the crown. Thus, when Henry came to Canterbury (for the last time as it proved) on August 2, 1460, he was received at the great gate of the priory by Archbishop Bourchier, the Bishop of Ely, and the Prior and convent vested in green copes. To the strains of an anthem beginning *Summæ Trinitati* he was ushered into the church, where Prior Goldston celebrated high mass and (as our chronicler relates with evident pride) used his pastoral staff, although the Archbishop was present.[1] Bourchier's sympathies, however, were with the Duke of York, on whose head he placed the crown of England less than twelve months afterwards. Four years later (July 18, 1465), when news was brought to Canterbury that Henry had been captured in Lancashire, King Edward IV and his Queen both happened to be in the city at the time, and Stone relates how the Archbishop at once arranged for a thanksgiving service in the cathedral, at which the *Te Deum* was sung and a sermon preached by a secular priest, who took for his text St. John vii. 23: "I have made a man whole on the Sabbath day." Both King and Queen were present at the sermon and took part in the procession to the shrine of St. Thomas which followed it.[2] It may have been on this occasion that the King determined to give as a thank-offering the great north window in the Martyrdom transept, which still contains portraits of himself, his Queen, and his children. But perhaps it is more likely that the window was erected in connection with the jubilee of 1470, when it is recorded that multitudes of Yorkists flocked to the shrine of St. Thomas to return thanks for the help the saint had vouchsafed to their cause.

The cessation of the protracted civil war, and the stimulus of the jubilee of 1470, which was attended by an unparalleled number of pilgrims, brought a return of prosperity to the convent of Christ Church. So that when William Sellinge became Prior in 1472 the financial condition of the house had so far improved that building operations could again be undertaken.

Sellinge deserves to be commemorated with Eastry and Chillenden as one of the three great priors of Christ Church. A native of the village of Sellinge, near Hythe, where his parents bore the surname of Tilley, he entered the religious life as a monk of Christ Church in 1446, and in due course was sent to

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[1] Stone, *op. cit.* f. 66*b*.

[2] *Ibid. op. cit.* f. 76*a*.

Canterbury College in Oxford. In 1464 he received permission to continue his studies abroad, and proceeded to the University of Bologna, where he obtained the degree of Doctor of Divinity. He then went to Venice, where he was brought into contact with the pioneers of the New Learning, and studied Greek in company with Thomas Linacre, also a native of Kent, who afterwards became known as a celebrated physician.

In 1470 Sellinge returned to Canterbury, bringing with him a number of books, amongst which were several MSS. of classical works, and notably a copy of Cicero's *De Republica.* Two years later he became prior, and during his twenty-two years of office not only proved himself to be a capable administrator of the little world within the Canterbury cloister, but on more than one occasion was able to show his capacity in a wider field, when employed by King Henry VII on diplomatic errands abroad.

Building operations seem to have been in progress at Christ Church throughout Sellinge's priorate. Thus in his obituary it is recorded that he rebuilt the city wall between the churches of St. Michael Burgate and St. Mary Queeningate—probably in 1492, when this part of the wall was surrendered by the mayor and commonalty to the Prior and convent; that he glazed the south aisle of the cloister, and fitted it up with wainscot *carrels* or studies for the use of the studious brethren; that he " adorned the library over the prior's chapel with very beautiful carved work " ; and built the tower or prior's gateway in the Green Court, with an apartment above the archway to serve as a study for himself and his successors.

But of far more importance than the above was the work carried out under Sellinge's auspices on the great central tower. Exactly when this work was recommenced is not recorded, but the tower must have been approaching completion shortly before

Sellinge's death, which occurred in 1494, since a letter is extant in which he asks Archbishop Morton's advice about the form of the pinnacles of the new tower. This letter is so quaint and curious that it deserves to be quoted at length:

> Most Reverent father in God, and my most singler gode Lorde, after all due recommendation and humble obediens please it the same to understande that Master Surveyor and I have communed with John Wastell your mason, berer hereof to perceyve of hym what forme and shappe he will kepe in resyng of the pynacles of your new towre here: He drew unto us ij patrons of hem. The one was with doble fineall withowte crocketts, and the other was with croketts and single fineall. Thys ij patrons please y^t your gode Grace to commaunde the seyd Jo Wastell to draw and shew hem unto you, and uppon the sycht, your good Grace shew him your advise and pleasure whyche of them ij, or of any other to be devised, shall contente your gode Lordshyp to be appoynted. And furthermore if your gode Grace wolde require the seyd Jo Wastell so to do, I think that he might provide that these pynacles may be finished and accomplyshed this next somer folowing, the whiche if it mytt be so then your toure outwarde shuld appere a werke perfite.

John Wastell, the master-mason, who submitted these alternative designs for the pinnacles, was also employed a few years later upon the erection of King's College Chapel in Cambridge. He was therefore doubtless a craftsman of no ordinary skill and reputation. We should like to be able to say that the splendid central tower of Canterbury Cathedral, which was certainly erected under his supervision, was also the product of his brain. But the fact that the tower exhibits an architectural style considerably earlier than the date at which it was erected makes it more probable that Wastell worked upon plans and drawings prepared when the work was first put in hand by Prior Molash.

However this may have been, the result was eminently satisfactory, for the tower has scarcely a rival in England either for poetry of design or beauty of proportion.[1] Perhaps it may come as a shock to

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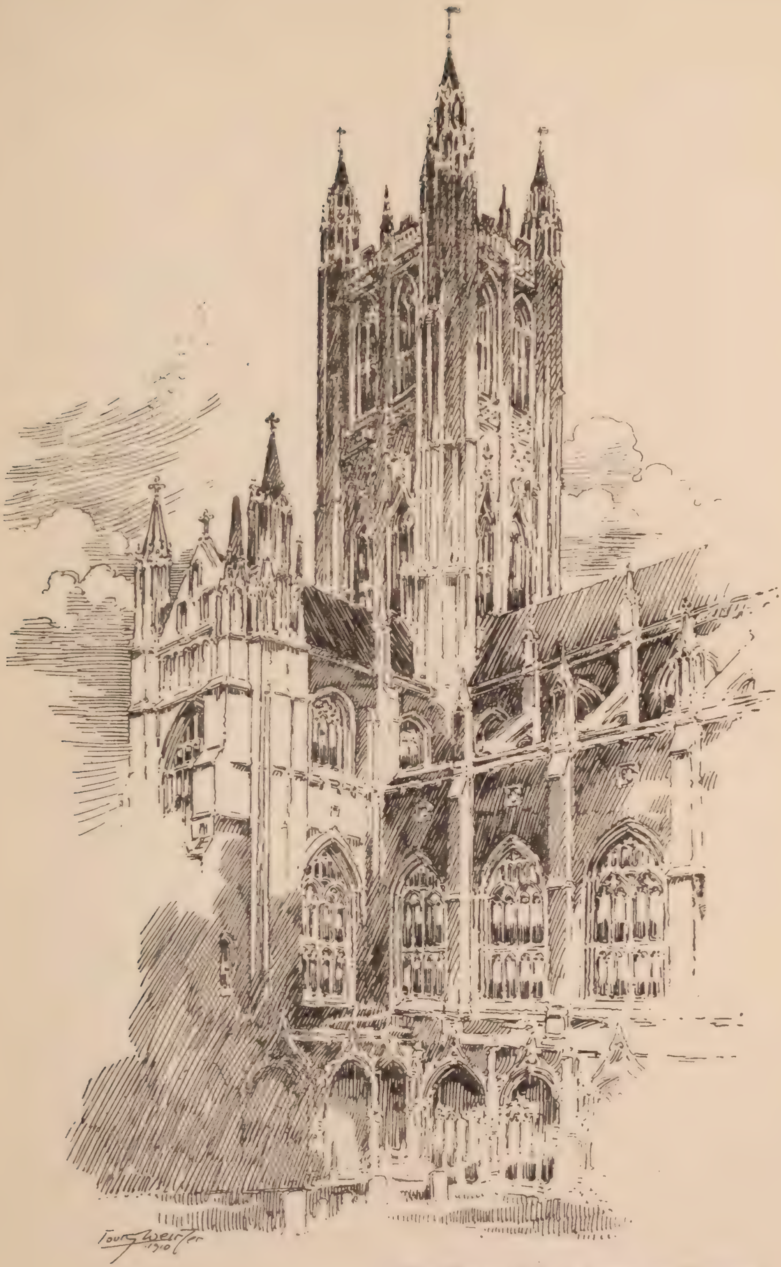
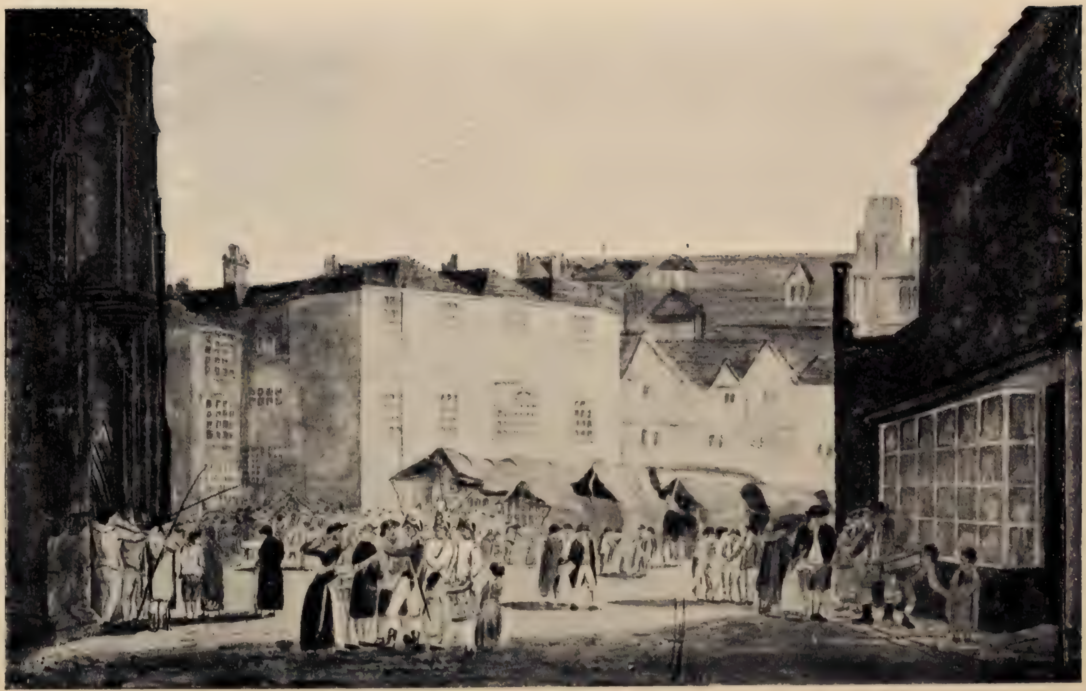
[1] *See* Fergusson's "History of Architecture," vol. ii. p. 49.



The Central Tower from the Cloister



THE MICHAELMAS FAIR IN THE PRECINCTS
From a Water-colour Drawing in the Cathedral Library

some people to learn that the upper part of the tower (viz. the forty-five feet above the floor of the "Wheel-loft") is constructed of brickwork, but such is the case, the outer skin alone being of ashlar stone from Caen and Merstham.

From the account roll relating to the rebuilding of the towers we learn that 480,000 "redde bryks" were employed for the inside work, and that the convent between Easter 1494 and Michaelmas 1496 spent upon the tower no less than £4035 16s. 3¾d., a sum equivalent to more than £50,000 at the present day; and in addition provided out of their own stores lead, nails, ironwork, and paid for the cartage of materials. The turrets at the angles of the tower are solid, with the exception of that at the south-western corner, which contains a newel staircase leading to the leads. Modern pilgrims who make the toilsome ascent to the top are sometimes puzzled to account for the extraordinary signs of wear which the steps show, and are disposed to form the conclusion that the monks spent much of their time in tramping up and down the stairway. The real solution, however, is to be found in the fact that for several centuries the ascent of the tower formed one of the attractions of the great Michaelmas fair held within the precincts. The porter of the Christ Church gate reaped a rich harvest of fees for "shewing Bell-Harry" to the country folk at fair time, and it was by the constant tread of the hob-nailed shoes of Giles and Joan that the stone steps were worn away. At length the dean and chapter resolved to abolish the practice, and at their St. Katherine's Chapter in 1784 ordered that "the custom be discontinued of admitting the rabble (*sic*) during the fair and other holiday times to see Bell-Harry." In lieu of his perquisites as showman the porter was now granted an addition to his salary. But the fair continued to be held in the precincts until the year 1826.

Sellinge did not live to see the finishing touches put upon the great work which had been in progress throughout his priorate, for he died on the day of the martyrdom of St. Thomas (December 29), 1494, and was buried in the north-west transept near the spot where the saint fell.

Prior Thomas Goldstone II, who, with the assistance of Archbishop Morton, brought the work to a happy conclusion, found it necessary to strengthen the tower piers. This was done by inserting buttressing arches surmounted by substantial bands of masonry pierced with trefoils and surmounted by an embattled cornice. Above the reticulated work of the arches between the western piers is the inscription **Non nobis Domine non nobis set nomini tuo da gloriam,** with the Prior's rebus—three gold-stones, flanked by the letters **T** and **P**.[1]

The space between the northern piers, however, was left open, probably to avoid obscuring the view of the great painted window in the north transept. But the absence of support here has caused the north-west pier to show signs of weakness.

Notwithstanding the great beauty and commanding altitude of the new tower, it lacked one feature which its humbler predecessor had possessed, viz. the winged figure which had seemed to hover over the spire of the Norman church and which so many generations of pilgrims had hailed from afar as marking the goal of their hopes. Perhaps it was at this time that the image of St. Michael (pulled down by the Puritans in the seventeenth century) was set over the gable of the south-west transept, in order that the familiar figure might not be altogether lacking. From old association, the new tower for a time continued to be called the "Angel steeple," and modern writers have advocated a reversion to the name, under a mistaken notion that "Bell-Harry" is of comparatively recent origin, and connected with "the hateful associations" which cling to the name of Henry VIII.[1] The name, however, has nothing to do with that arch-spoiler of churches, but is derived from the bell which hangs on the platform at the top of the tower. The present bell was cast in the seventeenth century, but the sacrist's accounts show that a bell named "Harry" had a place in the central tower of the cathedral many years before the Tudor dynasty ascended the throne. And it is probable that the bell was the gift of Prior Henry of Eastry, whose memory well deserves to be perpetuated at Canterbury.

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[1] In the Christ Church obituary (Lambeth MS. 20) this work is ascribed to Thomas Goldstone II, but it would appear that his predecessor, Thomas Goldston I, did something towards strengthening the tower piers, since there is an entry in the accounts of his priorate relating to work of this kind: "opera nove trabis in ecclesia—1452."

Besides his great work in connection with the completion of the central tower, Prior Thomas Goldstone II constructed a new subterranean aqueduct for carrying off the rain-water, which for want of proper channels had often caused the crypt to be flooded in wet weather.

The "new sewer," which still fulfils its original purpose, was carried right round the church from the neighbourhood of the south porch to the *necessarium* in the Green Court, where it flushed the *cloaca* before discharging itself into the city ditch. In this way the crypt was rendered much drier, and it is probable that at this date many of its Norman windows were replaced by larger ones having "perpendicular" tracery, in order to make the crypt both lighter and airier. At any rate, the doorway leading from the ambulatory beneath the prior's chapel to the crypt beneath the south-east transept was inserted at this time, for Goldstone's arms are carved above the lintel.

The beautiful gateway in the south-western corner of the precincts, now known as the "Christ Church Gate," was also built in the days of Thomas Goldstone II.

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[1] "Canterbury," by Dr. J. C. Cox, London, 1905, p. 192.

There had been a gate on this site as early as the reign of Henry III, but the original gate (the *vetus porta* of the Norman drawing) stood a little further to the east—directly opposite to the south door of the church.[1]

Goldstone's gateway is built of Caen stone, elaborately panelled and carved upon its southern front, the details of which have been compared with those used in Henry VII's Chapel at Westminster—a contemporary work. This south front is now in a sadly dilapidated state. Its condition is, however, not solely due to the corroding hand of Time, since, in addition to the iconoclastic zeal of the Puritans in the seventeenth century, the carved work was "savagely mutilated" by the partisans of the consort of King George IV because (as Felix Summerby relates) "it was not illuminated in honour of a Queen, and *was* illuminated in honour of a King."[2]

A few years earlier the appearance of the gate had been in a measure spoilt by the removal of the tops of the octagonal flanking turrets, which were carried up originally above the embattled parapet. This was done by order of the dean and chapter, and—according to popular tradition—for no better reason than to afford a view of the cathedral clock from the upper end of Mercery Lane!

The two stories of chambers over the archway were allotted to one of the six-preachers as a residence after the suppression of the monastery, but the rooms are now used as a depository for the documents of the diocesan registry.

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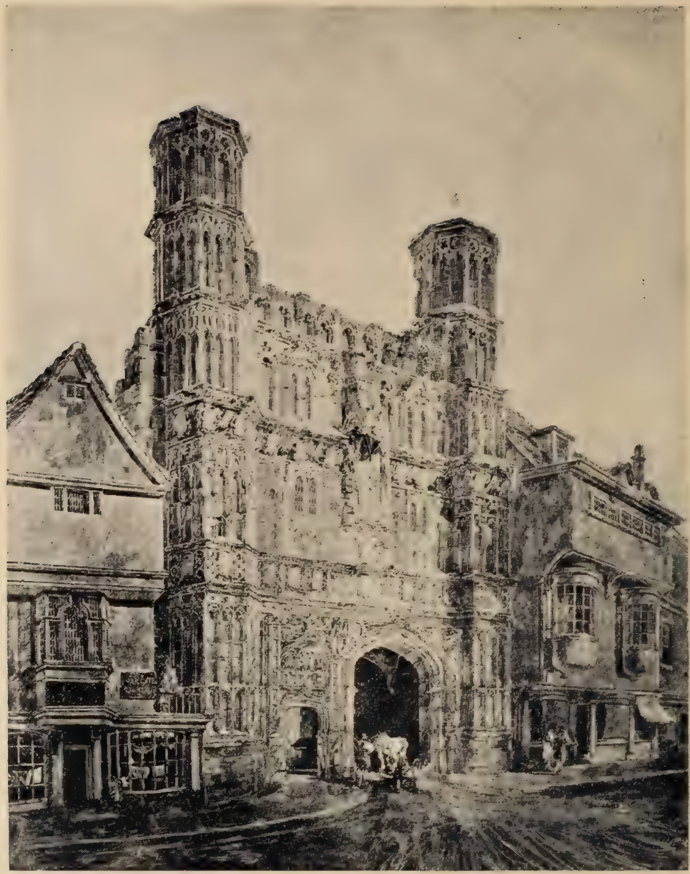
[1] The exact position of the *vetus porta* is stated by Somner to be "5 rods eastward from the new gate."

In 1453 the sacrist exchanged a house in Burgate Street, which had long been known as the old gate (*ab antiquo nuncupato vetus porta*), for another tenement in the parish of St. Mary Bredman. In Somner's time portions of the old gate built into this house were still visible. Christ Church MS. Y. A. 15.

[2] "Handbook of Canterbury," 1833.



CHRIST CHURCH GATE
From a Drawing by J. M. Turner, R.A

The gateway was not quite finished during Goldstone's lifetime, for he left by will a sum of money for its completion ; but inasmuch as Somner records that in his day the following inscription was carved upon the southern front, **Hoc opus constructum est anno Domini milesimo quingentissimo decimo septimo**, it is clear that the work should be ascribed to Goldstone's priorate.

Thomas Goldstone II died September 16, 1517, and was buried in the Martyrdom. Among his benefactions the Christ Church obituary records that he gave new service books of great value and beauty for use in the choir ; an *analogium* or desk of brass, fashioned like an eagle, which was probably used for the music books of the *Rulers* of the choir ; a set of arras hangings with the story of the Blessed Virgin Mary, for the adornment of the south side of the choir on principal feasts ; several richly embroidered vestments ; and divers ornaments for use in the prior's chapel. From the same source we learn that when St. Dunstan's tomb was opened in 1508, Goldstone caused a silver reliquary to be fashioned in the shape of a human head, in which he placed a portion of the saint's skull.[1] This " scrutiny " of the shrine of St. Dunstan (as the monks called the opening of the tomb) was the outcome of a correspondence between Archbishop Warham and the abbot of Glastonbury, in which the Archbishop upheld the claim of the monks of Christ Church against the Glastonbury tradition, which alleged that the saint's relics had been removed to the West Country house in 1011, when Canterbury was sacked by the Danes. In order to set the matter at rest the saint's tomb was opened on April 22, 1508, and within the leaden coffin the remains of a man were found arrayed in full pontificals, and also a small leaden plate bearing the inscription HIC REQUIESCIT SANCTUS DUNSTANUS ARCHIEPISCOPUS. As this appeared to be conclusive evidence that St. Dunstan's body was still at Canterbury, Warham politely notified the discovery to the abbot, and at the same time expressed the hope that no more would be heard about the pretensions of Glastonbury. The abbot's reply is curious. He was constrained to admit that proof had been given that the church of Canterbury possessed the greater part of the saint's relics, but he still maintained that a fragment or two might well be preserved in the Glastonbury shrine. At all events, he hoped that the archbishop would not bruit the matter abroad, since the West Country shrine was much venerated, and he feared that if the cherished belief of the country folk was rudely shattered a public commotion might ensue.[1]

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[1] St. Augustine's Abbey had a " head " of St. Augustine : " de oblacionibus factis ad caput Sci Augustini, *4li.*" Accounts of the *Vestibularius*, 1521. Christ Church MS. E. 23.

A slight structural addition to the fabric of the cathedral church made when Goldstone II was prior was the chantry chapel which Archbishop Warham, soon after his election to the primacy, caused to be erected in connection with his tomb. By a formal deed dated April 6, 1507, the prior and convent granted to the archbishop a place of sepulture " near the chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary on the north side . . . and close to the spot where the holy Thomas suffered martyrdom . . . together with a certain oratory or chapel," adjoining thereto.[2] The chantry chapel was built in the *slype* or passage between the north wall of the Martyrdom transept and the south wall of the Chapter-house, and was reached through a door at the east end of the tomb, which was placed in a recess in the north wall of the transept. This doorway (blocked up) may be seen in Dart's view published in 1726, but early in the last century some meddlesome "restorers" obliterated all traces of it, and removed the Archbishop's monument to the centre of the recess.

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[1] An account of the scrutiny is printed in Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, vol. ii. p. 227, &c. The full text is given in Christ Church, Canterbury, MS. E. 27 and Register R, ff. 183–88.

[2] Register T, f. 586.

Warham's chantry must have been finished by September 4, 1507, for on that day its altar was hallowed by Dr. John Thornton, prior of Dover and assistant bishop to Archbishop Warham, in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. Margaret. The chapel, which was served by secular priests, was swept away together with similar foundations soon after the suppression of the priory, but its exact dimensions can be traced in the passage between the transept and the Chapter-house.

Thomas Goldwell—his name bears a singular resemblance to that of his predecessor—was professed in 1493, and became prior of Christ Church twenty years later. He belonged to an old Kentish family which had long been in possession of the manor of Goldwell in the parish of Great Chart,[2] and after adopting the Benedictine habit he had spent some time in studying at the Universities of Paris and Louvain. When he became prior there was nothing in the political atmosphere which foreshadowed the great storm which was to remould society on an altered basis and sweep the monastic system out of the land. Nothing probably was further from his thoughts than that he would be the last prior of Christ Church.

The first mutterings of the storm were heard seven years later, when Cardinal Wolsey in 1524 obtained a licence from Pope Clement VIII to suppress those small religious houses which had less than seven inmates and to devote their revenues to the purposes

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[1] For Warham's chantry, *see* "Inventories of Christ Church, Canterbury," *op. cit.* pp. 136–48.

[2] John Goldwell, Bishop of Norwich 1472–99, was probably the Prior's uncle; and Thomas Goldwell, Bishop of St. Asaph in the reign of Mary Tudor, may have been his nephew.

of education. This was the first touch of the besom of destruction, and the greater monasteries, although they offered no protest on behalf of their weaker brethren, were not unmindful of its possible significance, "justly fearing that the King would fell the oaks when the cardinal began to cut the underwood." Amongst the tenants of the Christ Church estates there were certainly some premonitions of what was coming, for those of them who held leases for lives were now very active in getting favourable terms of renewal. It was an unfortunate circumstance for the prestige of their house that at this juncture certain of the Christ Church monks became mixed up in the affair of the "Holy Maid of Kent."

Elizabeth Barton, a maid-servant in the household of a Kentish yeoman living at the hamlet of Court-at-Street, near Aldington, began about the year 1528 to dream dreams and to see visions. Her alleged revelations attracted the attention of the rector of the parish and of Dr. Bocking, the warden of the Christ Church manors, by whom the maid was brought to Canterbury, where she was lodged in the nunnery of Sepulchre. Here, unfortunately for herself and her abettors, her vaticinations took the form of prophesyings as to what would happen to the King if he proceeded with the divorce upon which he was now expending all his energies.

Prior Goldstone seems to have been careful not to commit himself in the matter, but Archbishop Warham showed the maid some countenance, and Dr. Bocking and Richard Dering, the cellarer of Christ Church, were her constant associates. Warham died before the attainder of the nun, but Bocking and Dering were included in the bill, and ended their lives on the scaffold. For the part taken by some of its members in this unfortunate affair the convent sought to appease the King by a gift of money and through Archbishop Cranmer offered to pay "two or three hundred pounds" for a general pardon, though, as Cranmer pointed out, the house was "not aforehand, but in debt except the church ornaments and plate."[1] But neither this offer nor the ready compliance with which the Prior and monks of Christ Church signed the acknowledgment of the royal supremacy[2] could avert their fate. In the following year (1534) Dr. Layton, one of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the condition of religious houses south of the Trent, arrived at Canterbury where he quartered himself on the prior. What followed may best be described in his own words. In a letter addressed to Thomas Cromwell, Layton writes:

> This Saturday night I came to Canterbury to Christ Church. At one of the clock after midnight one of my servants called me up suddenly, or else I had been burned in my bed. The great dining chamber called the King's lodging, where we supped, and whereat the bishop of Winchester lay the day before I came, was suddenly fired by some firebrand or snuff of a candle that first set the rushes on fire. My servants lying nigh the said lodging were almost choked in their beds, and so called me. And anon, after I found a back door out, called up the house, and sent into the town for help, and before ladders and water could be got that great lodging was past recovery, and so was the chamber where I lay. Three chambers only are burnt, called the new lodging, or the King's lodging. The gable ends of the house, made of strong brick, kept in the fire from the houses adjoining, with the help of men, so that no harm was done but in that lodging. As soon as I had set men to squench, and to labour, I went into the church and there tarried continually, and set four monks with bandogs to keep the shrine, and put the sexton in the revestry there to keep the jewels, and walked continually in the church above, and set monks in every quarter of the church with candles, and sent for the abbot of St. Augustine's to be there with me in readiness to have taken down the shrine, and to have sent all the jewels to St. Augustine's.

The treasures of the shrine of St. Thomas, however, were not destined to go to St. Augustine's, but into the King's coffers. Three years after Layton's disastrous visit (1538) St. Thomas of Canterbury was declared a traitor, his name expunged from the Church's calendar, his splendid shrine destroyed, and the precious metal and jewels with which it was adorned carried off to London. Dr. Gasquet has given the following summary of the contents of the roll upon which the things taken for the King's use are recorded :

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[1] Calendar of State Papers, vi. 1519.

[2] It was tendered to the monks of Christ Church in 1534, and signed by the Prior and sixty-nine of the brethren apparently without demur.

> The gold was no less than 4994¾ ounces ; the gilt plate weighed 4425 ; the parcel gilt 840 ; and the plain silver 5286. At a subsequent date twenty-six ounces of gold with 4090 of silver-gilt or plain were added to the spoils. Besides the above and the jewels of which there is no record, there were carried away to London four precious mitres, two of silver-gilt overworked with pearls and precious stones ; a wooden throne covered at the parts called pommels with crimson velvet, and the handles of silver-gilt ; and a crozier ornamented with silver, called Thomas Becket's staff. Further, besides a number of fastenings for copes of gold, and precious stones, nine pontifical rings, and a golden shell adorned with divers precious stones, there were taken for the King eleven copes of gold cloth, called "gold Bawdekin." Of these, ten were white with the arms of John Morton, formerly Archbishop, and the eleventh was ornamented with red roses. Also one covering for the upper part of an altar of white and red velvet splendidly worked. These, with other things, formed the plunder which Henry gathered into his treasure-house "from the goods of the late monastery of Christ Church, Canterbury."[1]

The actual deed of the surrender of the priory has not come to light, but a commission dated March 20, 1540, was directed to Thomas Cranmer, the Archbishop, Sir Richard Rich, Chancellor of the Court of Augmentations, Sir Christopher Hales, Master of the Rolls, and six other persons, empowering them to receive the surrender of the Prior and convent of Christ Church, Canterbury. Out of the fifty-three monks who were inmates of the house at the time of the suppression, twenty-eight became members of the new collegiate foundation and twenty-three departed the house with pensions. Amongst the latter was Prior Goldwell. When the coming changes were first reported at the monastery, Goldwell protested that he would never forsake his habit. Thus, in a letter addressed to Cromwell (August 20, 1538), two years before the surrender, he wrote :

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[1] "Henry VIII and the English Monasteries," London, 1902, vol. ii. p. 408, &c.

> There is a common speaking here . . . that religious men shall leave or forsake their habits, and go as secular priests do. . . . As concerning this matter your lordship has been so good unto me that you have sent me word before this time that I and my brethren should not be constrained to do so. And as for my part, I will never desire to forsake my habit as long as I live, for divers considerations that move me to the same. One is because religious men have been and continued in this our church these 900 years and more also. I made my profession to serve God in a religious habit as much as lay in me so to do. Also if we that be religious men do forsake our habits, and go about the world, we shall have many more occasions to offend God and to commit sin than we now have. For this and other considerations which your lordship knoweth better than I, I beseech your lordship to continue good lord to us, me and my brethren, that we may keep our habits of religion still.[1]

But two years later, when it became clear that the title of nine hundred years would not save his house from sharing the fate of similar foundations, Goldwell's heart failed him. It would be too much to leave the great church, and the pleasant lodging he had occupied for two-and-twenty years. Why should he not stay on as the first dean of the new collegiate church ? Cranmer, it was true, was not favourably disposed towards him, but he would try what could be done with Cromwell. And so to the all-powerful Minister he wrote the following pathetic letter begging him to remain his friend

> specially now in the change of the religion of this cathedral church from prior and convent into dean and canons. For I am informed [he continues] that such as be, or shall be, assigned and appointed by the King's Majesty to be Commissioners for the said change of the said church of Canterbury, shall be at the same church within a little time. And of the which Commission my lord of Canterbury, as I hear, shall be the chief (who is not so good a lord unto me as I would he were) Wherefore, without your especial lordship, I suppose my lord of Canterbury will put me to as much hindrance as he can ; and also I have

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[1] "Cromwell Correspondence," P.R.O. V. f. 96, quoted by Dr. Gasquet in "Henry VIII and the English Monasteries," p. 472, &c.

heard of late that my brother the warden of the manors, Dr. Thorneden, is called in my lord of Canterbury's house, "Dean of Christchurch in Canterbury." This office of dean by favour of your good lordship I trusted to have had, and as yet trust to have. I have been prior of the said church above 22 years, wherefore it would be much displeasure to me in my age to be put from my chamber and lodging, which I have had all these 22 years. It hath also been shown unto me that my lord of Canterbury at his coming to the said church will take from me the keys of my chamber, and if he do I doubt whether I shall have the same keys or chamber again or not. . . . And whereas it pleased your good mind towards me to write unto me of late, by your letters, that I should have my said chamber with all commodities of the same as I have had in times past, the which your said writing to me was, and is, much to my comfort. And with the favour of your lordship I trust so to have for the term of my life, which term of my life by course of nature cannot be long, for I am above the age of 62 years."[1]

But Goldwell's hope of becoming the first dean of Canterbury was doomed to disappointment, for Dr. Nicholas Wotton was nominated to the office in the incorporation charter of the new foundation. He might have had a prebendal stall, but he doubtless felt that he could not accept a subordinate position where for twenty-two years he had ruled supreme. He therefore preferred to take his pension and go. The sum allotted to him, namely, eighty pounds per annum, was quite adequate for his maintenance, for in purchasing power it was equivalent to at least one thousand pounds at the present day, and the ex-prior continued to enjoy it until the day of his death, which occurred in the second year of the reign of Queen Mary (1555), fifteen years after his exile.

The fall of the great Benedictine house attached to the cathedral and metropolitical Church of Christ in Canterbury may be regarded as the final *débâcle* of monasticism in England.

> The system [as a modern writer has well said] was not judged and condemned on its fundamental principles, or on account of the faults of its members, but because there was a wave of revolt against the ancient system of government in Church and State; because there

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[1] "Cromwell Correspondence," P.R.O., V. f. 96, i. 82.

was an outburst of mental and spiritual liberalism; and because the King lusted after the temporal possessions of the monasteries. . . . The accusations against the moral character of the monks were made in order that men might welcome the dissolution of the monasteries. But the charges were for the most part baseless. The evidence of the Visitors of Henry VIII breaks down when carefully examined. The Visitors themselves were men of far from unblemished character. Their testimony, such as it was, only applied to a very small proportion of the houses accused. . . . No witnesses ever seem to have been produced, nor in any case do the monks appear to have been allowed to answer to the charges brought against them. . . . A great wrong has been done, knowingly or unknowingly, to the memory of a multitude of men, who, with rare exceptions, according to their lights, seem on the whole to have done their duty well and faithfully. . . . Several centuries have elapsed since the monk was first forcibly ejected from his home, and until recent years he has found no defender chivalrous enough to speak a word in his defence. . . . It is only fair, now that the real story is better known, that we should teach our children to look on the large majority of these helpless men and women as victims deserving our pity and respect, rather than as guilty culprits who met with a righteous doom. . . . Nothing can ever obliterate or even dull the memory of the splendour of the work done by the monastic orders.[1]

C. E. W.

[1] *Quarterly Review*, July 1895.

CHAPTER XI

THE INTERIOR LIFE OF THE MONASTERY

As some beautiful broken seashell may stir us to wonder of what unfamiliar life it was at once the product and the home, so it is with the ruins of a mediæval monastery. We want a key to the meaning of these grey deserted cloisters, these broken arches, these roofless and half-fallen chambers. It is the purpose of this chapter to provide such a key by sketching the daily life and domestic economy of the monks who dwelt around the cathedral and metropolitical church of Christ in Canterbury, and kept up an unbroken strain of prayer and praise within its walls for more than nine centuries.

Like the inmates of all other cathedral monasteries in England, the monks of Christ Church traced their parentage to St. Benedict (480–543), the true patriarch or founder of the "Monks of the West." It was the genius and practical wisdom of Benedict of Nursia which first tempered the austerities of the East into some relation to the requirements of human nature, and added to prayer, meditation, and discipline the duty of wholesome and useful work, so that the houses under his Rule became not only refuges from the world, but homes of learning, schools of agriculture, nurseries of the arts and crafts. So rapid was the rise of the Order that already at the end of the sixth century a Benedictine Pope, Gregory the Great, selected for the conversion of England Augustine, prior of the Benedictine convent of St. Andrew at Rome. Thus both the great monastic houses in

Canterbury—the priory of Christ Church and the abbey of SS. Peter and Paul (afterwards called after its founder, St. Augustine)—belonged to the Order of the Black Monks of St. Benedict. We have already shown how the high ideals of St. Benedict became obscured and even obliterated at Canterbury during the Saxon dynasty, and how the Order was revived by the constructive genius of Archbishop Lanfranc, under the fostering ægis of the Conqueror, who thought that the Benedictine communities might serve as centres of Norman influence. All this has been dealt with in a previous chapter, and it now remains to give a brief sketch of the internal economy of Benedictine houses in general and of the priory of Christ Church in particular.

It will be convenient for our present purpose to take in order the great officers or heads of departments around whom monastic activity revolved. At Christ Church, including the prior, these heads of departments or obedientiaries, as they were called, were nine in number. We will speak of them in the order of their rank. First, the Prior. In a cathedral monastery the bishop was always the titular abbot, though in all matters of internal economy the prior had practically a free hand. It is true that the prior of Christ Church owed his election to the archbishop, but the brethren had a very considerable voice in the matter. The proceedings were as follows: The archbishop first summoned the brethren to a solemn meeting in the Chapter-house, received from them a roll containing all their names, and took their votes. He then retired for consultation with his clerks, and subsequently announced the result to the assembled brethren. "In the name of the Lord and of His most glorious Mother, of the Holy Trinity and of all the saints, we nominate, appoint, and give you as prior the religious man, brother N, one of the monks of this church; and we enjoin you, in virtue of your holy rule, to give him obedience in things both spiritual and temporal." The archbishop then placed a ring on the prior's right hand, and the whole company adjourned to the choir and sang the *Te Deum*, while between their double ranks he walked up to the High Altar and, after prayer by the archbishop, was installed in the seat nearest to the altar on the north side of the choir immediately opposite to the archiepiscopal throne.

The authority and jurisdiction of the prior were at all times considerable; during a vacancy of the archbishopric (*sede vacante*) they included courts of visitation and of probate throughout the province, and even the administration of vacant sees. Thus we read that after the death of Archbishop Peckham in 1292 the Prior of Christ Church administered four distant dioceses—Llandaff, Bath and Wells, St. David's, and St. Asaph. If we add to such responsibilities the government of a great monastery and cathedral, the management of great estates, and the entertainment of innumerable guests and pilgrims, from royalty downwards, it is clear that the office was an onerous one, and we are not surprised to learn that several of the earlier priors were glad to lay down the burden and return to the obscurity of the cloister.

Nor was it an uncommon thing in the pre-Becket days for a prior of Christ Church to accept preferment to an abbacy. Out of seventeen priors who ruled the house between the days of Lanfranc and the expulsion of the monks by King John no less than five priors of Christ Church became abbots of other Benedictine monasteries; but when Canterbury had attained European fame as the scene of the martyrdom of St. Thomas, a prior of Christ Church seldom cared to exchange his position for any other the Church could offer. Indeed, he now felt it unbecoming to his dignity to attend the general chapters of the Order, where, since all abbots took precedence of all priors, he would have to yield the *pas* to the head of some petty house containing perhaps less than a score of inmates; or, worse still, might have to witness the exalted place allotted to his rival the abbot of St. Augustine's. Thus, in order to escape the humiliation which awaited them at these general chapters, the priors of Christ Church would plead ill-health or the infirmities of age. In 1338 Prior Eastry excused himself on the extraordinary ground that he had been ordered by the King to repair to one of the convent's maritime manors to resist with his retainers an invasion from the Continent. At length the Pope was pleased to grant a licence exempting the priors of Christ Church from attendance. And other marks of distinction came from Rome from time to time, thus: Alexander III (1179–86) by an undated bull permits the prior to wear the tunic and dalmatic at mass on certain feasts; Innocent III (April 22, 1206) grants the use of the "gloves, dalmatic, and mantle" *in mensa;* Honorius III (January 17, 1220) grants to the prior and his successors the use of the mitre and ring in processions and on the chief feasts of the Church—this was on the occasion of the famous Translation of St. Thomas; Urban VI (1378) adds to mitre, tunic, dalmatic, gloves, and ring the privilege of using the crosier and sandals, and of giving the blessing after mass, in the other divine offices, and at table.[1] The prior had his separate "lodging" or establishment, at first on the west side of the passage now known as the Dark Entry; and afterwards, with greater dignity, space, and comfort, in the *Nova Camera Prioris*, on the east side. Two large guest-houses, the "New Lodging" and "Master Omer's," were in a sense extensions of his *Camera* for the entertainment of distinguished visitors. He had his own chamberlain, marshal and other esquires (*alii armigeri*), clerk, notary, farrier, cook and his man, messenger, groom park-keeper, and underlings.[1] A list of the prior's servants in 1377 gives their number at twenty-two, at a total wage of £9 with food and lodging. At a later date this amount was doubled. He was attended by two chaplains, and in addition to his private chapel over the southern alley of the infirmary cloister, he had also an oratory, from which through four slits or squints in the north wall of the south-eastern transept he could command views of St. Martin's, St. Stephen's, and the High Altar.

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[1] All the bulls are enrolled in Register A, f. xxvi.

The obedientiaries, who together with the prior and sub-prior constituted the Chapter, included the precentor, the sacrist, the cellarer, the chamberlain, two treasurers, and the penitentiary. A brief summary of the duties of each of these officers will be sufficient to give some insight into the magnitude and complexity of conventual affairs.

The Precentor was, as his name implies, the master of the music (though some of these duties were delegated to the succentor). He was responsible for the supply, condition, and use of the books, and of the parchments, skins, and other materials used in copying and illuminating; he was, in fact, librarian, and will come before us again in the chapter on the library. As instructor of the novices he held a daily class in the cloister, and a Latin class in a room approached by the small doorway at the western end of the southern cloister-walk.

The succentor, as choirmaster, taught the young "religious" to sing their part in the offices, and to repeat by rote various psalms and prayers for chanting in darkness or in processions; the rest was done by the novice-master; and since many postulants were at first very unlettered, not to say ignorant, and were required to attain a reasonable standard of proficiency before admission to the order, his task was sufficiently laborious. His tuition comprised much more than

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[1] Register J, f. 508, *temp.* Prior Henry of Eastry.

“book-learning,” though that was essential, such as the usages and discipline of monastic life, control of the eyes and of the tongue, gravity and seemliness of demeanour in every daily action, how to wear the habit and to bow to or salute superiors according to their dignity; in short, the entire behaviour of the trained and devout monk. Even recreation was a part of the novice-master’s care; for, beyond insistence on the monastic vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, it was no part of the Benedictine Rule to crush harmless natural impulse. The holes, squares, and lines in the stone bench of the south cloister-walk at Canterbury, Westminster, Gloucester, and elsewhere bear witness to some mediæval game which must have been played with considerable assiduity by the novices who sat there. Both indoor and outdoor recreations, within bounds and under supervision, were encouraged. Nor, it may be added, were these confined to novices, as we shall see towards the end of this chapter when we sketch the daily routine of convent life. Some relief from the monotony and restriction was essential to sanity. Archbishop Peckham, on his visitations in the thirteenth century, found tame pets in religious houses—dogs, monkeys, cranes, falcons, and, doubtless, jackdaws, as in the “Ingoldsby Legend.” In the fifteenth century the prior of Christ Church kept a pet fawn at the Barton Manor. The prior of Cokesford, in Norfolk, played chess with the brethren, and he was probably not singular. The name at Canterbury for the common or recreation room was *deportum*, which Willis connects with the Latin *deportare* and the French *déporter*, and translates as “hall of disport.” It was probably over the buttery to the west of the Frater. Here the austerity of the Rule was relaxed and the free flow of talk was permitted, coupled, however, with compulsory attendance at “all processions, the third great solemn mass, and vespers.”

It must be remembered that the heart and centre of all monastic life was the Church, according to St. Benedict's maxim that "nothing is to be preferred to the *opus Dei*," the divine service, the perpetual offering of prayers, intercessions, and worship in expiation of sin without and within the convent walls, and in aspiration to the secret joys of an inward and spiritual life. In the memorable phrase of the *Rites of Durham*, "*The House was always watchinge to God.*" The cloister was the workshop, the study, the school, the focus of the practical daily duties and tasks, and commanded access to every part of the convent; but the church and its offices were the very ground of its existence. We will therefore take as the obedientiary next in importance the sacrist, who with his four assistants had charge of the church fabric, its repair, extension, or improvement, its lighting and cleansing, its altars and shrines, its curtains and hangings, its sacramental vessels, its ornaments and vestments. He kept the floor carpeted with rushes or sweet fresh hay, and the choir supplied with rush-mats for the feet of the monks. He looked to the grass, the walks, and the graves in the burial-ground of the brethren, to the condition and ringing of the bells, and to the punctual opening and closing of the church doors. He or one of his staff was afoot before the brethren to light up the dormitory as they rose at midnight for matins. He provided and lit the great cressets or bowls of tallow with wicks which dimly illumined the cloister after dark and burned all night in the nave, the choir, and the treasury. In or near the last chamber a sub-sacrist would usually sleep and another near the choir, as guardians of the treasures and relics. There was (and is) also a watching-chamber for unceasing outlook upon the shrine of St. Thomas. Lead, glass, and workmen's materials from the neighbouring fairs, wax, tallow, hay, straw, and rushes from the farms, charcoal, wine, and incense are mentioned in the sacrist's accounts.

Cressets and candles he seems to have furnished not only to the church but to the entire monastery; and when one considers the difficulty of lighting these great buildings without modern appliances, and the high price of wax when there were no substitutes of sperm or paraffin, the outlay must have been large. In one of the old registers[1] there is a formidable specification of the candles required for the church. The Easter candle (*cereus paschalis*) was to contain 300 lb. of wax. On the seven-branched candelabrum six candles were to weigh 7 lb., the middle one 8 lb.; portable candles on the feast of the Purification, 3 lb.; candles carried in processions and at masses, 2 lb. The sizes and weights of smaller lights are legion: for the various altars, for the nave, for the crypt, obit candles for the anniversaries of the dead, for reading the lessons in the choir, for the prior's lodgings, for going round the dormitory between the fifteen psalms and matins, for the *deportum*, for the infirmary, for going round the choir during matins, for lanterns, for horsemen, for waking the servants to ring the bells. In an order of Chapter dated 1308 there is a direction for the lighting at the Sanctus during Mass either at the high or at the matutinal altar of two torches, each eight feet long and containing twelve pounds of wax. If any brother broke a torch he had to make it good out of his bread and pottage in the Frater.

It is scarcely surprising after this to learn that wax was the heaviest single item in the sacrist's accounts. In 1496 he spent £29 3s. 4d. (say £500) in the purchase of 1256 lb. of wax.

To meet this great expenditure the sacrist was allotted various manorial and other dues. In 1463 he had the rents of twenty shops and nine gardens in the precincts. Fairs were held by royal licence in the churchyard for nine days four times a year, viz. at Christmas, Easter, the Translation of St. Thomas

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[1] B, f. 423.

(July 7), and Michaelmas; and the rents of the stalls or standings were a part of the income of his office. His total receipts for a year are recorded as £133 0s. 4d. He had a house on the site now occupied by the residence attached to the fifth canonry. A mound in the garden was probably formed by the *débris* of the Norman campanile, which was overthrown by earthquake in the reign of Richard II, and in which before its fall the sacrist held his court and received his dues.

If the services of the precentor and the sacrist were indispensable respectively to the intellectual and to the spiritual life of the community, those of the Cellarer were equally necessary to its bodily life. He was chief of the commissariat and purveyor of all food-supplies, not only for the monks but for guests, pilgrims, and the many servants and dependents of the house. The miller looked to him for corn, the baker for flour, the brewer for malt, the kitchener for fish, flesh, fowl, and vegetables. His affairs took him away so often to the granges and farms, the markets and fairs, that he had special permission of absence from the ordinary religious offices on condition that he should say them privately; and he was occasionally warned of the danger to his monastic profession of all these worldly cares. He engaged and dismissed servants and presided at their table after the meals of the brethren. He provided for the "pittances" or little extra dishes which formed an addition on special occasions to the plain monastic fare. Under this head we find some curious entries in the accounts of the year 1467: wine, dates, cloves, mace, honey, fish, saffron, "reyson coronts" (raisin currants?), and our old friend, so seldom absent from a balance-sheet, but here disguised in the spelling, "sawndrez." Besides food of all sorts, the cellarer ordered also the fuel and the materials for the repair of the buildings. To the sub-cellarer (for he had and needed assistants) he delegated

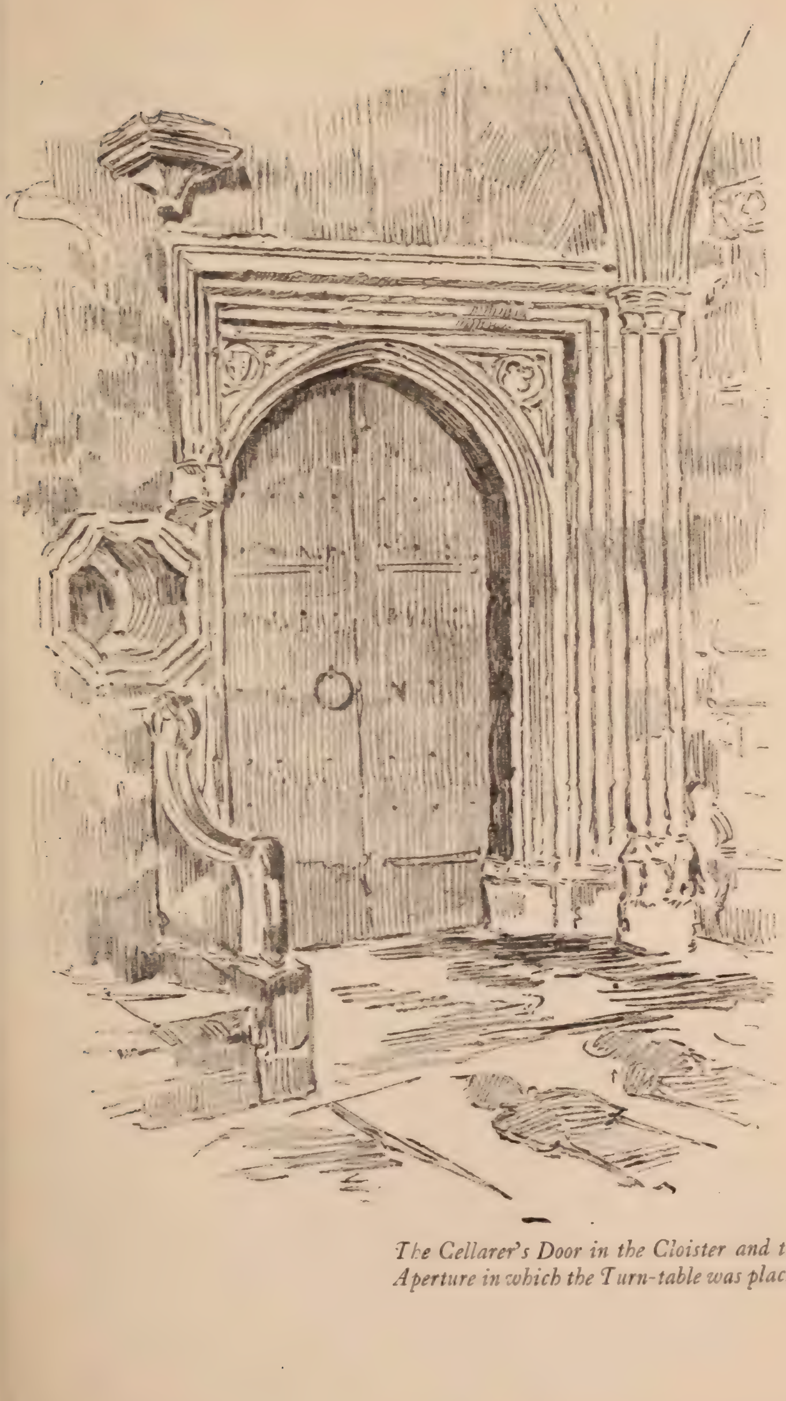
Ruins of the Frater-House

the bread-store and the beer-cellar. There were several kinds of bread, from the coarse and plain to the cake of fine flour, to be served as occasion demanded. "Monks' bread," "smalpeis," "fetys," "plein-pain," and kitchen bread were made daily. The temperature and fermentation of the beer required careful watching. It was to be measured for use by the half-gallon measure, known as the "Justa Lanfranci," which, like all the vessels, utensils, and linen throughout the priory, was kept scrupulously clean.

The brethren had one plain "square" meal a day, and, excepting from All Saints' till Christmas, and Epiphany till Easter, and on fast days, a few ounces of bread and a little beer for breakfast, and a simple supper of one dish and occasional pittance. No meal was to consist of more than two courses, though it might occasionally be supplemented by the "pittance," which might be compared with our "savoury" or dessert. Bread, pottage, fish and vegetables were the staple. It was usual in the Frater to serve the portions of two brethren in one dish, such a dish for two being the equivalent (we are told) of four soles, or two plaice, or eight herrings, or two mackerel, or ten eggs. Whatever was left over, uncovered by the monk's napkin, was collected by the almoner for the poor. The wine must have been of the thinnest, and the beer of the smallest, for the latter especially was used as we use tea, coffee, and soda-water. The quantity allowed (as shown in the monastic registers) to a brother who had officiated at mass or performed some laborious task is amazing to modern ideas, and to understand it at all we must recall the use of light beer by the German student and of *vin ordinaire* by the French peasant. We read of allowances of two gallons at a time, sometimes of wine, sometimes of beer; to the sub-prior, after celebrating, of even "four gallons of wine without spices." It is something of a mystery, explain it as we may, and probably, though granted to the person chiefly concerned, was meant to cover the requirements of several assistants; perhaps sometimes the requirements of more than one day. Recorded breaches of discipline, though they include far graver faults, and even crimes, scarcely include a single case of drunkenness.

The cellarer's lodging was situated outside the west wall of the great cloister. Nothing is now left of it except the door by which it was approached from the cloister and the circular opening in the wall for the turntable by means of which a thirsty monk could be supplied with a glass of beer without revealing his identity to the tapster within. In the garden of the house now occupied by the Bishop of Dover are the remains of the *Domus Hospitum* or cellarer's hall for the entertainment of guests. Portions of the vaults beneath the great hall remain; these were the cellars proper or storehouses, above which was the hall itself. Chillenden's chambers were an extension or "dependance" of the *Domus Hospitum*, rendered necessary by the increasing resort of visitors to the shrine of St. Thomas, and were connected by a covered way or "pentise" (still to be seen in the gardens of the seneschal's house and of Chillenden's chambers) with the Court gatehouse, on the north side of which was the *Aula Nova* or north hall, of which little remains but the beautiful Norman stairway and the arches of the substructure. It was of great size, being figured in the twelfth-century plan as extending to the north wall of the precincts, fourteen feet from the city wall; and is believed to have been allotted, as both dormitory and refectory, to the poorer pilgrims, who brought their own bedding and cooking utensils. It is more certainly known that the seneschal of the liberties held his court there, and that part of the substructure was used as a prison.

The presiding official (always under the cellarer) of the *Domus Hospitum* and its adjuncts was the guest-



The Cellarer's Door in the Cloister and the Aperture in which the Turn-table was placed

master or steward of the guest-hall, whose duty it was not only to provide for the entertainment of visitors, but to meet them at the gatehouse and ascertain their name and quality, directing the better sort along the pentise to their comfortable quarters, and the poorer pilgrims to the *Aula Nova*.

Something should here be said of the hospitality for which the cellarer had to make provision. Inns in the Middle Ages were rough and, except in towns, infrequent ; the hardships of travel would, but for the network of religious houses, have been almost intolerable. Every large monastery had a guest-house and an open door for the traveller, who was welcomed in the name of Christ—" I was a stranger and ye took Me in." Two days and nights were the usual length of his permitted stay ; if he wished to remain longer he had to ask leave, and was perhaps expected to make some offering in return for his free quarters, though wealthy houses were often very generous and long-suffering.

But Christ Church priory was no ordinary monastery. The shrine of St. Thomas was a magnet for innumerable pilgrims ; and as the seat both of the primate and of the chapter which elected him the monastery was of the utmost political and ecclesiastical importance, attracting all the notabilities of the realm. The arrangements therefore for hospitality were necessarily on an exceptional scale, though privacy and comfort in our sense of the words were then scarcely known.

Distinguished guests would probably be received in the prior's *Camera*, which doubtless from an early date afforded separate accommodation for meals and sleeping purposes. The second and larger *Camera* of the prior was supplemented by a range of chambers, called the New Lodging, of which part is incorporated with the southern side of the deanery. But of all the buildings provided for the accommodation of visitors the largest and most typical is that which now forms the prebendal house, due east from Becket's Crown. This house, which after a former occupant, one Master Omer, who in the middle of the thirteenth century was official of the court of the prior and chapter, is still called by his name, has a circular staircase leading up to various rooms which were doubtless occupied by guests. The western side had ground-floor rooms then, as now, used for offices, above which was the gallery, which could be used for music. The whole of the eastern part of the building was, before the suppression of the monastery, one great hall, which could be used alike for meals and as a dormitory for servants and retainers. It was in this house that John Buckingham, sometime bishop of Lincoln and afterwards a monk of Christ Church, died in 1396.

That all these houses in addition to the convent were victualled from the cellarer's stores is some indication of the extent of his responsibilities. We will conclude our sketch of them by appending a curious Table which throws light not only upon the labours of the cellarer but upon prices, wages, convent customs, and the number of servants employed:

Gifts or allowances of food, &c., made to conventual officers and others at Easter and Christmas:

The archbishop—381 fowls, at 3d. each; fifteen porkers, called "freshyngs," at 2s. 6d. each; 2700 eggs, at 6d. the 100; twenty lambs, at 6d. each; twenty cheeses, at 3d. each. Deducting from the total a rent of £8 due from the archbishop as rent of land at Reculver, there remains a balance of 3d. due.

The infirmary—100 fowls, four freshyngs, 1000 eggs, eight lambs, eight cheeses, and eight "burrats," costing 1d. each.

The hospitals of Northgate and Harbledown—200 fowls, five freshyngs, 2000 eggs, twenty lambs, twenty cheeses, and eight burrats.

The porter of the Monks' Court (*Curiæ Monachorum*)—ten fowls, one freshyng, 200 eggs, two lambs, two cheeses, and two burrats.

The seneschal of the Monks' Court, the same.

The *Custos Curiæ* of the archbishop, the same.

The four serving-men of the church—sixteen fowls, one freshyng, 200 eggs, two lambs, two cheeses, and two burrats.

The porter and washerwoman of the church—each eight fowls, half a freshyng, 200 eggs, two lambs, two cheeses, and two burrats.

Ruins of Cellarer's Hall

The servants of the infirmary, two valets (*vallecti*) of the bath and the *custos* of the infirmary gate—twenty fowls, one freshyng, 250 eggs, two lambs, two cheeses, and two burrats.

The servants of the clothing shop (*sartrina*)—twenty fowls, one freshyng, 2000 eggs, two lambs, two cheeses, and two burrats.

We are disposed at first to ask, almost with a gasp, how the archbishop disposed of 381 fowls, fifteen porkers, twenty lambs, and 2700 eggs, and how the latter were kept fresh. No recent occupant of the see, even with the aid of his entire staff, could have consumed such quantities without inconvenience. The question would apply equally to the porter of the monks' court with his ten fowls, one freshyng, 200 eggs, and two lambs. The archbishop, it is true, had obviously a large retinue; but both primate and porter must have resorted to salt and other preservatives, and have made store for leaner days.

The *Camerarius* or chamberlain had charge of the clothing, sleeping accommodation, laundrywork, and personal washing and shaving of the monks; he also provided the clothing of the servants. In 1318 a cloth merchant is asked to send the following goods: two and a half pieces of well-dyed cloth for clerks, at 73s. 4d. per piece; two pieces of coloured cloth and two pieces with broad stripes of colour to match for esquires, at 70s.; four pieces with broad stripes of a good parti-colour for keepers and knaves, at 53s. 4d.; and four pieces of parti-colour for grooms, at 40s.[1] There is also an order for 129 ells of black cloth, to cost £16 13s., and 380 ells of linen cloth, to cost £7 18s. 4d. The chamberlain reports that a habit (*roba*) can be made for a monk out of two and a half lengths (*panni*) of cloth. The making and repairing of garments for so great a number must have been a considerable undertaking, and accordingly he had a tailors' and outfitters' workshop, which may possibly have been the building identified by Willis as the second dormitory, for there is no documentary evidence of the existence of more than one dormitory. The staff of this workshop (*sartrina*) included the master-tailor, second tailor, furrier or pelterer, master-sempster and his man, the "saver," and three washer-women. Like the cellarer, the chamberlain had to be much at fairs and markets for the purchase of cloth, linen, kersey, leather for sandals and boots, the skins and furs needed for winter underclothing in the un-warmed church and open cloister, sewing materials, sleeping-mats, rugs, and toilet necessaries, and so was in some degree exempted from the regular choir offices. There was a chamber set apart for the shaving of the monks, which was below the passage from the dormitory to the church and close to the sub-vaults of the lavatory tower. Its repair is mentioned among the works of Chillenden—"*Domum rasture de novo fieri fecit.*" Besides the daily use of this chamber, there was once in three weeks a shaving of tonsures, one of the brethren acting as barber, while others repeated psalms as they waited their turns. From the mediæval kinship between the arts of the barber and of the surgeon, we may infer that here took place the operation of bleeding which was constantly practised both as preventive and as cure. The brethren were bled by twos or threes at a time, carefully bandaged, and transferred to the infirmary for a few days. On Saturday nights there was a general washing of feet in the cloister, doubtless to the same accompaniment of psalmody as the tonsure-shaving. There were compulsory baths at Christmas and optional ones at other times. For these and similar occasions the chamberlain provided hot water, soap, clean towels, and other accessories. Though no site or building can be identified as the laundry, it is obvious that there was a great deal of laundrywork, for washer-women are freely mentioned in the lists of work-people, and the monks' underclothing (shirts, drawers, and socks) was washed every fortnight in summer and once in three weeks in winter, besides the napery and other fabrics in common use. It was for the chamberlain to organise and arrange all this, and to ensure by a system of tallies the return of articles from the wash.

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[1] *Lit. Cant.* vol. i. p. 40.

The dormitory was an oblong hall due north of the chapter-house and immediately adjoining it. The cubicles were against the walls on either side, and down the middle ran a dividing wall with low pillars and arches. It was lighted at night by four great stone cressets in the corners, and in the daytime by windows, of which five, of the date of Lanfranc, may still be seen above the cloister roof, four being incorporated into the chapter library. That the sleeping accommodation of the seventy or eighty brethren in this immense bedroom devolved upon the chamberlain is natural enough, and there is evidence that the furnishing of other apartments, such as the *Deportum* (recreation-room) and the calefactory (for warmth after the cold church, or after being " blooded ") were also part of his care. There is an entry in the year 1499 of the purchase of a long mat, containing eight yards, extending from the dormitory door to the parlour door.[1] The chamberlain's yearly income, derived partly from rents and partly from a grant from the monastic treasury, amounted to about £112.

In Abbot Gasquet's " English Monastic Life " there is no mention of the penitentiary among monastic officers. Doubtless organisation varied in different communities; but at Christ Church he was one of the nine obedientiaries, and the prior's right-hand man in maintaining and administering discipline. Certain of the brethren were appointed *scrutators* or *circatores claustri*, and bound to report all breaches of the Rule, which were dealt with daily in the chapter-house after mass. The corporal part of the penance usually consisted of scourging (done on the spot), or of a scantier and severer diet. Sometimes it extended to a kind of temporary boycott, or even to expulsion. In 1313 Archbishop Reynolds wrote that all monk's in priest's orders who did not celebrate mass four times a week should in the week following eat and drink only in the Frater. If this were a fasting season, it would mean food of any kind only once a day.

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[1] "*In longitudine ab hostio dormiterii usque ad hostium locutorie.*" Sacrist's Accounts.

In 1323 there seems to have been something like a mutiny or rebellion, of which Brother Robert de Aledon was a ringleader. Six of the monks were sequestrated and forbidden to shave their beards or crowns till the following Easter. Among the accusations were neglect of the daily offices, absence from the convent for improper purposes, perjury at the archbishop's visitation, forgery in the name of the chapter, the writing of scandalous letters, and theft of the community's goods. A silver vase was missing from the prior's lodgings, and Robert de Aledon was found to be in possession of a lump of silver weighing 10 lb., of which he could give no satisfactory account. He had also taken silver vessels from the Frater and valuable books from the library. The brethren were for expulsion, and much correspondence took place between the prior and the archbishop; there was even an appeal on behalf of the culprit to the King. The upshot is not fully related, but in 1349 Aledon seems to have still been at Christ Church and (from a letter of Archbishop Islip's) to have been treated by the prior with considerable rigour. After a scandal such as the foregoing it is a light matter to read in an old fragment of manuscript the names of brethren who were never at compline, who broke the bounds of seclusion by frequenting the lively purlieus of the Green Court, and "would not be spoken to" by their superiors.

There was this year (1323) trouble also with the *scrutators*, who, though they kept the Rule, refused to demean themselves by reporting those who broke it. These darker episodes were rare exceptions ; the shortcomings of the monks have been much exaggerated by their enemies. Henry VIII, in the Act of 1536 suppressing the 376 smaller monasteries, testifies to " divers great and solemn monasteries of this realm wherein (thanks be to God) religion is right well kept and observed."

There were two Treasurers, both of whom appear to have been obedientiaries, and the importance of whose office will be best indicated by some reference to the financial affairs under their charge.

Before the Conquest the archbishops and the monks held their estates in common, and indeed lived under the same roof and formed a single corporation. Lanfranc dissolved this partnership, and his successors have ever since had a separate residence or " palace " and a separate estate. According to the burdens, exactions, or troubles which fell respectively upon the see or the convent, one would borrow of the other, to repay in better times. In the year 1273, for instance, the monastery owed the archbishop no less than £2266 13s. 4d. (more than £50,000 !), besides having to repay the merchants of Florence £429 6s. 8d., and to furnish the King with a loan of 300 marks (a mark was 13s. 4d.). The total receipts of the monastery that year were £1917 10s., and out of this the monks had to live. This was clearly a problem requiring at least two treasurers for its solution.

There were great fluctuations of income, owing partly to variation in the amount of offerings at the shrines, but far more to the accidents which beset farming. In 1307 the losses by cattle plague were 207 oxen, valued at 15s. each ; 511 cows, valued at 10s. each ; and 4080 sheep, valued at 7s. 6d. each ; while 1212 acres of the best marsh land of the brotherhood were inundated by the sea. In 1321 the convent lost more than 1000 head of cattle in a single year.

Then there were also great fluctuations in expenditure. The appointment of a new archbishop involved heavy payments both in England and at the Court of Rome; and sometimes these appointments would follow each other with disconcerting rapidity, as when the see fell vacant three times in a year at the time of the Black Death. There were forced contributions and heavy loans, not always repaid, to the Crown for military and other purposes. The visits of royalty with its retinue were very costly; and the visitors sometimes left behind them retainers to be kept indefinitely at the charges of the monks. It has been already mentioned that at the Translation of St. Thomas in 1220 the outlay over pageantry and the entertainment of countless pilgrims embarrassed four successive archbishops, and the monastery shared the burden. Lawsuits, appeals to Rome, and great building operations would all, at irregular intervals, affect the balance-sheet.

During the six years preceding the Translation in 1220 the receipts from all sources averaged £1460 14s. 0¾d. For the five following years, owing in great part to the increase of offerings, the average rose to £2340 12s. A hundred years later, in 1326, the outgoings are entered as £2046 10s. 8d., and in 1336 as £2317 11s. 4½d. In 1299 the receipts rose to £4552 3s. 10d., while the outgoings were only £2180 19s. 7d.

The receipts both from offerings and from the estates were variable, but, roughly speaking, the offerings were about one-fifth of the whole. As an illustration of the dire shifts to which the monks were sometimes reduced for ready money, we may mention that in the year 1316 they pledged to the archbishop, as security for a loan for payment of the royal tenths, a gold cross, jewelled and containing a fragment of the true Cross, valued at £200, and two ewers (*olla*) of gold, worth respectively £58 and £50. At the beginning of the fourteenth century the priory had 8434 acres under crops. There was a warden of the manors, who visited the farms and outlying estates reported on their condition, and ordered necessary repairs and improvements, but the main responsibility for the collection or remission of rents lay with the treasurers.

One of the smaller complications of their work was the dealing with foreign and obsolete coins—pilgrims' offerings, payments for wool or corn sent abroad, or rent extracted from the old stocking of some remote tenant. There is extant a letter dated August 13, 1335, from a London agent to the Prior " concerning the sixty pounds' weight of odd coins " to be exchanged for current money. Distinction is drawn between " pure metal " worth 21s. in the £1, " standard metal " worth 19s. 6d., and still lower quality worth only 18s.[1]

If the average income of the monastery in the fourteenth century be very roughly estimated at £2200, the treasurers would have to deal with an annual sum of £50,000 to £60,000 of our money, and an expenditure which sometimes left a balance in hand, but in disastrous years required a loan from the archbishop or the Florentine bankers to make ends meet.

Two conventual officers who were not obedientiaries, but are far too important to be omitted from our survey, are the almoner and the infirmarer.

The almonry, of which nothing remains, was outside the gate of the *Curia* or Green Court. In order to understand the scale on which charity was administered we must remember that in the Middle Ages there was no Poor Law; the religious houses were the sole barrier between the destitute and absolute starvation. We must further remember that the whole monastic movement was a protest against violence and cruelty, the private wars and disregard of law which both caused poverty and multiplied its sufferings. The widow and the orphan, the sick and the lame, the "broken man" and the needy household, were daily helped and advised as Christ's poor. Certain anniversaries and the great festivals were marked by wholesale gifts. For instance, at Christ Church on May 28, the day of Lanfranc's death, the almoner gave 700 loaves for the use of the house (his largesse was not restricted entirely to those outside the gates) and 3400 loaves for distribution amongst the poor. The bellringers were not forgotten, for thirty-two loaves with cheese and beer went to the custodian of the great tower (*magnum campanile*). Two bucks were given to the infirmary at Michaelmas, and two does at the Translation of St. Thomas. On Maundy Thursday the sub-almoner, after the chapter meeting, collected a number of poor folk corresponding to the number of the brethren, led them through the cloister to hear mass at the altar of St. John the Evangelist, and took them back through the cloister to the hall, where each received "a loaf of bread, called 'small peys,' some salt, and three herrings, with as much drink as they wished" (surely an evidence of its harmless quality). They then returned to the cloister for the feet-washing, in which all the community from the prior downward took their part. This was the great maundy. There was a daily maundy at which the brethren washed the feet of three or four poor men, and the weekly maundy, when on Saturdays they washed one another's feet.

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[1] *Lit. Cant. No.* 585.

Not the least useful or interesting work of the almonry was its free school for poor boys, of whom the ablest and most diligent were, if of a devout character, encouraged to offer themselves as novices, and so to recruit the ranks of the brethren. Many such almonry scholars became learned and famous men.

Candidates for the novitiate took oath that they were not previously pledged to any other religious body; were not under a vow to visit the Holy Land or the Roman Curia; were not married or under a contract to marry; had not been guilty of homicide or any other serious crime; had not taken part in any trial which had led to the effusion of blood; had not assaulted any clerk or religious person; were not under sentence of excommunication or suspension; were not in debt; were of free condition and born in wedlock; had not in any way contracted irregularity; suffered from no incurable or contagious disease.

After being duly examined by the prior on these particulars and approved, they were admitted to one year's probation, and enjoined to attend the religious offices; to behave soberly and modestly; to make such disposal of their property as with the advice of their friends they thought prudent and wise; to deposit in the convent library any books they might possess; and finally not to enter into a contract of marriage or to take any other religious habit.

After a year's instruction by the precentor and his deputy in Latin, English, singing, chanting, and reading, in the Rule of the Order, in the psalms and prayers to be learnt by rote, and in the duties and exercises of the religious life, they were subjected to careful examination by the prior before making their final profession.

Amongst the novices and junior monks must have been some real students and thinkers, for the pursuit of learning and the training of men able to deal with the theological, philosophical, and political problems of the time were a part of the Benedictine ideal. To a house so prominent in affairs both of church and state as Christ Church a supply of such men was especially necessary. At the close of the middle ages the Humanists complained bitterly of monkish ignorance, as we may see in the writings of Erasmus; but the monasteries, until the time of their decay and approaching fall, were generally the abodes of learning. Throughout the middle ages Canterbury possessed two schools which we should now term secondary. The first was the school of the archbishop, which dated from the seventh century and was revived by Archbishop Theodore. This school, which was situated in the parish of St. Alphege and had no connection with the priory of Christ Church, lasted till the Reformation, and was reconstituted by Henry VIII as the King's School. It will be remembered that Theodore came from Tarsus in Cilicia, where the university founded by the later Stoics still existed, and that he introduced into England the study of Greek. The other was the almonry school for poor boys, which had no such happy resurrection. But the educational zeal of archbishops and priors went much farther than this. It was felt that more advanced learning could be attained only at a university. In 1331 a hall *cum camera et deporto* (with dormitory and common room) was hired at St. Peter's-in-the-East, Oxford, as a place of study, and the monks who were sent thither were bidden to look out for learned novices to fill vacancies at home.[1] In 1354 Archbishop Islip regrets that Christ Church has no young monks at Oxford, and asks the Prior to select some for a university training.[2] The great dearth of learned clerks at this time was due to the ravages of the Black Death, which depopulated colleges and convents as well as parishes, and was one of the causes which led Archbishop Islip, in the year 1362, to found Canterbury College at Oxford.[3] Three of the fellows were to be Christ Church monks, eight of them secular students, and the warden was to be chosen by the archbishop out of three names submitted by the prior and chapter. Prior Chillenden (that volcano of constructive energy) rebuilt the place in the reign of Richard II, and its picturesque quadrangle of stone below and timber and plaster above stood unchanged for nearly four hundred years.[1] It was dissolved by Henry VIII, and its last remains carted away in 1775, but its name is perpetuated in the Canterbury Quadrangle of Christ Church, Oxford.

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[1] Register L, f. 10.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 88.

[3] *See* "Fifth Report of the Historical MS. Commission," p. 450.

The college went through many troubles due to popes, kings, archbishops, and wardens; here we will find room for one which was due to none of these. There were usually more rooms than Canterbury students, and these were let to members of other convents. Warden John Langdon writes to the prior of Christ Church about some insubordinate monks from the Abbey of Peterborough:

> I have had trobyl (of) lat with some of the bruderyn that be suggernen (sojourning) with us, specyally with them of Peterburgh, which ye remember by their ungoodly demenyng in Dom Will Chichele ys dayes went from us to Glowcetyr (Gloucester) College, and syth they were taken agen to us in Dom Thomas Umfrey hys dayes. And now they be as frowardly disposed or wurse than ever they were. The seyd bruderen of Peterburgh be now home at ther monastery, and shall be till Michaelmas, wherefore I pray your fadyrhode to write to ther abbot desyring him to give them charge, if they shall come agen to us that they be guyded as scholarys should be, for they be no studentys.

And what was worse, they set all the other students against the authorities.

The treasurers' accounts show that Christ Church was generous in maintaining the men sent to Oxford, and there must have been some flow of intellectual life from the college to its parent monastery. There are also entries of money supplied to brethren in order that they might take advantage of foreign universities. In 1304 Andrew de Hardres and Stephen de Faversham were sent to Paris. Prior William Selling when a young man (1464) had leave to travel in search of university education. W. Hadleigh in 1466 was sent to Bologna. There is also a sad little record in 1447 of a monk of mathematical genius dying in the infirmary at the early age of thirty. His name was John Trendle. "*Hic erat subtilis valde fuit et eximius calculator, unde et magnum de vij planetis fecit librum.*"

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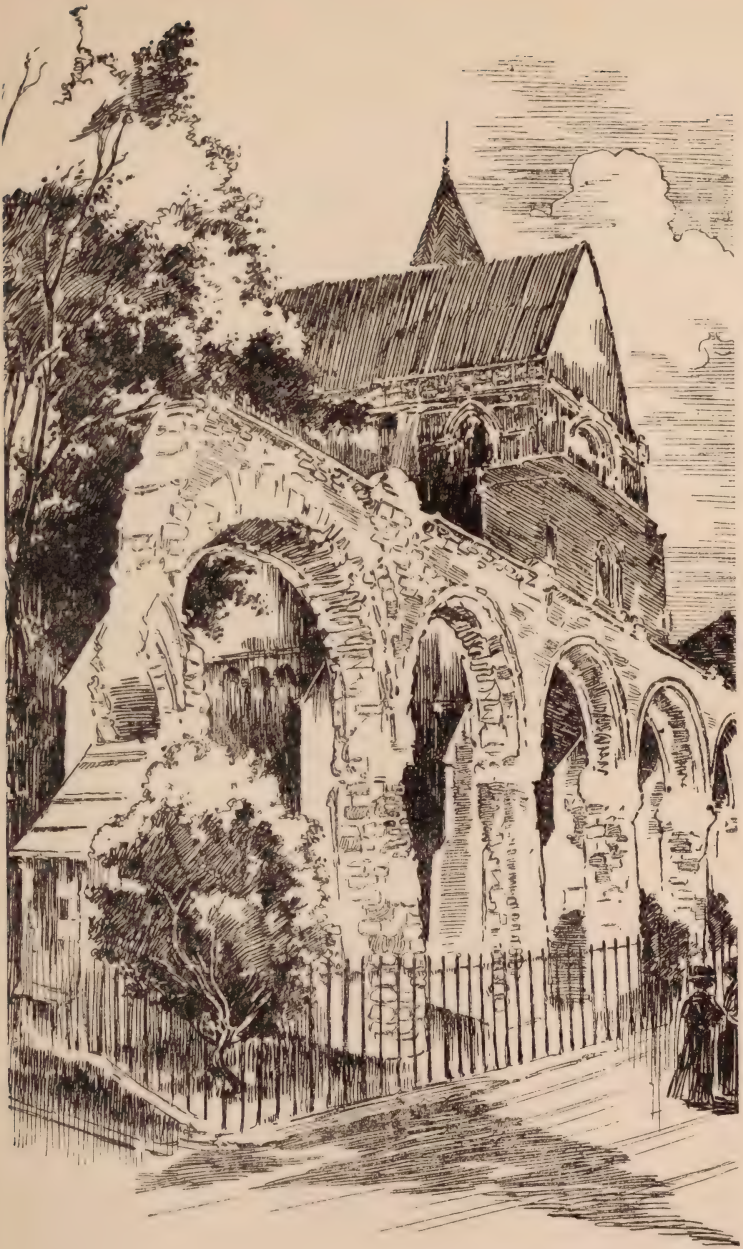
[1] Lyte's "History of the University of Oxford," p. 180.

Poor John Trendle, whose death is obscurely described in Latin as due to some kind of suffocation, perhaps hæmorrhage of the lungs, may serve as our conductor to the infirmary, of which the massive round columns with their rude capitals and ruined arches on the north-east side of the cathedral form one of the most picturesque features of the precincts. They were built by Lanfranc, and still bear the red stain of the great fire of 1174. The infirmary was in the form of a large hall, and the columns now remaining separated the centre from the southern aisle, afterwards made into the sub-prior's lodging. A similar range of columns stood on the north side of the hall, but were taken down after the dissolution—a fate from which those on the south side were saved by being built into a prebendal house, now removed. The chapel of the infirmary extends in a line with the hall eastward, and seems from the more delicate workmanship to have been built towards the close of the twelfth century. Several arches remain on the south side, owing to their having been (like those further west) built into a house. The east end, though originally of Norman construction, was restored in the Decorated style by Prior Hathbrand about the middle of the fourteenth century.

An apartment running north at right angles to the great hall, and now forming a chief part of a prebendal house, was built in 1342 by Prior Hathbrand, and known as the *Mensa Magistri Infirmarii.* It probably served for the accommodation of that officer (as the south aisle for that of the sub-prior), as well as for a table-hall or refectory.

The infirmary had its own cloister, as a "pleasaunce" for its inmates. This adjoined the western end or front of the great hall, and its one remaining alley



Ruins of the Hall of the Infirmary

forms part of the Dark Entry. The shafts, alternately plain and twisted, which support the low round arches, closely resemble those in the cloister of St. John Lateran in Rome. The cloister-garth is shown in the early plans as an oblong, divided by a lattice-fence into two enclosures, of which the western is marked *Herbarium* and dotted with shrubs or plants, some of which were no doubt of medicinal value. The infirmarer was skilled in the use of simples, and not without some knowledge of such surgery as the age afforded. This officer was chosen by his brethren with great care, not only for his medical aptitudes but for his wise and gentle hand with the sick. No part of the Rule of St. Benedict was more kindly, human, and indeed profoundly Christian than his injunctions to care tenderly for the ailing and infirm.

Persons unacquainted with monastic customs express surprise at the great size of a Benedictine infirmary relatively to the whole establishment. This at Christ Church, for instance, seems large enough to contain the entire community of seventy or eighty monks at once. No doubt, in an age of epidemics, when sanitation and disinfectants were scarcely known, the cases of illness were not few. But many besides the downright sick found refuge in those vanished chambers and beneath those ruined arches. Visiting or pilgrim monks from other religious houses to whom it was desired to show fraternal hospitality; relays of the brethren who had been "blooded" and required a less austere diet and discipline for a time; aged monks, known at Canterbury as *Stationarii*, who had outlived their bodily activity were granted quarters in the infirmary and waited on by their juniors—these would constantly be found as inmates. The secular clergy were sometimes admitted: Robert Asher, rector of Chartham, died there in 1454; also in the same year Nicholas Chilton, rector of All Saints', Lombard Street, in the city of London. One of the rooms was called

St. Mary's, where died in 1516 James Burton, who had been prior of Folkestone. He had brought his own furniture with him, for there is an inventory of it in a MS. book[1] giving its value as £4 18s. 5d. These are names which have survived out of many which have perished.

The treasurers' accounts give the salary of a physician, one Master Giles, as £2 13s. 4d., and of two surgeons (*sirugici*) as 13s. 4d. each. Even allowing for the difference in money values, this seems a very modest emolument. On the other hand, London consultants were abreast of their modern representatives in fees, if not in skill, for in 1370 Master W. Tankerville charged £6 13s. 4d. (or about £133) for visiting the lord prior.

When a brother was dying, he was laid in the infirmary chapel to breathe his last upon a stone on which a cross had been marked in ashes. Great sanctity or importance was apparently attached to this stone, which may have formed part of the floor. When for some unexplained cause it was removed and destroyed at the beginning of the fifteenth century the loss was deeply felt, for there are two entries in Stone's "Chronicle" under the date 1403 mournfully recording the use of a new stone. Hugh Aleyn "*hic non jacuit supra petram more antiquo quia locus illi antiquus cincritius jam per annum dimidium transactum ablatus et deletus est.*" Nicholas Cantorbery "*hic primus omnium jacuit supra petram novam ante imaginem sancti crucis Capella infirmarie interiore ex quo lectus ille preciosus cincritius sanctorum patrum ut permittitur deletus et ablatus est anno m°cccc°iij°.*"

We learn from the statutes of Archbishop Winchelsey (died 1313) that the infirmarer ruled the *deportum.* He "must every Sunday inform eight brethren, as many of the lower as of the upper of each choir, in the order of priority, that they may take their *deportum,* if they will, in the next week. And if any one of the eight decline to accept it, he must, notwithstanding, be present every day of that week at the mass of the Blessed Mary, and on every Tuesday at the mass of the Blessed Thomas, together with those who did accept the *deportum*, lest through his refusal the solemnity of these masses be diminished." This is Willis's translation, and he adds: "It thus appears that as the insupportable tedium of the masses overbalanced the delights of the *deportum*, the archbishop hit upon the ingenious device of compelling the selected monks to attend the masses, but left them free to decline or accept the indulgences."

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[1] Cant. MS., C. 11, Ingram.

An official scarcely less important than the almoner or the infirmarer was the kitchener, who presided (as the name indicates) over the measurement, preparation, and distribution of the "portions" at meals. The kitchen was a lofty building, originally Norman, but rebuilt by Prior Hathbrand in 1347. It adjoined the cellarer's hall and the Frater, and one of its fireplace corners is incorporated in the south side of Chillenden Chambers. It had a scullery with two windows, one through which (according to the Norman plan) "the trenchers were thrown out to be washed," the other "through which the portions were served out." There were also a larder and a "chamber in which the fish were washed." In 1335 the number of servants throughout the cellarer's department was found to be excessive, and the following revised and reduced list of those allowed to the kitchener may perhaps be a measure of his responsibilities: master-cook and his boy, second cook, hall cook and his boy, the pottager and disher (*disarius*) and his boy, the salter and his boy, the stoker (*focarius*) and his boy, the porter who brought vegetables from the town. Indeed, a full list of the servants would be no bad indication of the magnitude and complexity of the conventual organisation. No court or hall was without its seneschal, no gate without its porter, no tower without its custodian, no shrine without its keeper. Some allowance in money or kind was made to all who performed special services, and their duties were laid down in writing with the utmost precision. Thus, the seneschal of the Liberties was entitled (if a knight) to £10 for himself and his staff (*familia sua*), two suits of clothes, and meals in the cellarer's hall for himself, his esquire, and three grooms (*garcionibus*). He and his clerk were to have two justa (half-gallons) of the monks' beer, four wax candles and three common candles daily through the winter, and fodder for three horses as often as he passed the night in the precincts. If he were not a knight, the £10 were to be ten marks and other allowances in proportion.[1]

At the bottom of the scale is the porter of the convent gate, with a daily commons from the kitchen and as much corn as he could hold in his hand from the bin of every occupied stall in the precincts. His duties were to hold his tongue and spread no reports detrimental to the prior or convent; to keep out women and boys and all but honest persons; to shut the gate at curfew and take all keys to the cellarer; to keep a sub-porter at his own charges (fixed at six marks); to go on journeys with the prior and cellarer; to accompany processions and keep back the crowd; to count the loads of wood carted to the kitchen, receiving therefor 1d. per load; to carry beer from the cellar to the refectory for dinner and supper; to announce the arrival of guests to the cellarer and to take the King's briefs to the seneschal of the Liberties. Then follow various further allowances, in consideration of these services, of bread, beer, and fodder, the last being a single or double handful from everybody's stable—prior's, sacrist's, chamberlain's, cellarer's—who could be suspected of entertaining a mounted guest.

This complex organisation of a great monastery, with its officers, estates, and workshops, its granary brewery, and bakehouse, its hospitality to travellers and pilgrims, its apparatus for learning and teaching, for copying and illuminating, its rights and duties in relation to bishop and crown and pope, was but the framework or setting for the *opus Dei*, the religious life, the perpetual "watchinge to God." A brief sketch, therefore, of the daily life of the monks may fitly conclude this chapter.

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[1] Register J, f. 508.

The hours of prayer and meals would vary a little according to the season of the year and of the Church's calendar, but the following will be enough to indicate the usual routine.

A little before midnight the sub-sacrist rang a bell and lighted the cressets in the dormitory. The brethren rose, crossing themselves, dressed, put on their thick fur or list shoes (partly for warmth and partly for the observation of the "greater silence" which lasted till prime), and, preceded by the juniors carrying lights, passed along the covered way between dormitory and choir to matins. Part of this covered way is the present communication between the library and the north transept.

Matins was preceded by the recitation of the fifteen "gradual" psalms, to which great importance was attached, and with its elaborate observances and devotional silences would last nearly an hour. At the close, while the bells were ringing for lauds, there was a brief interval during which the monks might pace the cloister for exercise after the chill of the church. Lauds were over by about half-past one, and the brethren returned to bed till six in summer or seven in winter, when they were summoned to the choir for the office of prime.

The early mass which followed immediately after prime was chiefly for the servants and workpeople, and attendance by the monks, excepting those engaged in celebrating, was voluntary. They occupied the time in washing and completing their simple toilet for the day, the juniors and novices being engaged in reading, prayer, or instruction. Confessions were heard in the chapter-house; officials made preparation for their daily duties; study or writing went on in the cloister till the *mixtum* or light breakfast in the Frater at about half-past eight. This was taken standing, and consisted of a few ounces of bread and a little wine or beer, and was omitted on fast days and in Lent and Advent. The brethren then assembled in the cloister and went in procession to the morning mass, which was said at the matutinal altar, and preceded or followed by the office of tierce. Shortly after nine the bell rang for the daily chapter, which of course was held in the chapter-house. Breaches of discipline were reported and dealt with on the spot. The convent seal was affixed to deeds or charters. Novices were presented to the prior before their profession and ordinands before their ordination. Decisions were made on important affairs of business. Anniversaries of departed benefactors or saints were announced and prayer offered for their eternal rest.

Chapters, being daily, were usually short, and afforded some interval before high mass. During this interval conversation was permitted in the cloister on matters connected with the welfare of the convent, and became a means of forming and ascertaining the feeling and judgment of the community on various courses of action or administration.

At about ten o'clock, or perhaps later in winter, high mass was celebrated with great solemnity and full ritual. There was a somewhat curious order of Chapter in 1305 that if the *hebdomadary* or priest for the week did not possess a solemn voice (*solempnem vocem non habeat*), one of the brethren better endowed in this respect should read the Gospel for him; and that in like manner a sub-deacon suitably gifted should read the Epistle.

We are not told whether this regulation occasioned any heartburnings; but if it did not, considerable credit is due to the less sonorous members of the community.

The hour of sext seems to have usually followed high mass, and at perhaps half-past eleven dinner was ready in the Frater. It was the duty of the refectorian to see that the meal was properly and punctually served, that mats or rushes were supplied for the floor, and "in summer to throw flowers, mint, or fennel into the air to make a sweet odour." The napery was to be clean and white, and there were strict rules as to the courtesies of the table. There were two courses, such as pottage and fish or eggs, and on special days a "pittance" of fruit or nuts or cheese. One of the monks was told off as reader of some edifying book and bidden to be clear and articulate; others took their turns week by week as "servers" and waited on their fellows.

After dinner nones were said in the choir, and in summer, when the nightly allowance of sleep was less, a rest or siesta of an hour in the dormitory was enjoined, and from then till five o'clock was the time for work and play. The studious took their books into the carrels or little wainscoted studies in the cloister, the south alley of which still shows the grooves where the mullions and tracery were glazed; though Canterbury cannot show, like Gloucester, the stone framework of the carrels as a part of the structure of the building. The writers and illuminators of manuscript occupied the *scriptorium;* and there was some provision for readers and writers in the cubicles of the dormitory. The monkish architects and students of the arts and crafts pondered and wrought at their designs. The officials, great and small, went about such affairs of the house as required attention. Among the latter, the granger looked to the supplies of wheat flour, and the bartoner to the quality and quantity of malt, the brewer to his casks and measures and fermenting beer; while the cloth bought by the chamberlain at the fairs or from the merchants was measured out by his assistants for the master-tailor. Grammar, singing, and other lessons were given to the novices in the cloister. Recreation was by no means forgotten. Under due regulation and with the requisite permissions from the Prior, there were hawking, hunting, and outdoor games such as bowls and ball. There is mention in the treasurers' accounts of "the huntsman and his man," "greyhounds," and more frequently of "players" and "minstrels." The plays were sometimes of a purely religious character, the old miracle plays, as, for instance, in the year 1444 (Henry VI), "Given to the town-players for their play on the day of our Lord's Crucifixion, 3s. 4d." But many were in lighter vein, as the following will testify: "Given to the boys who played and danced before the lord prior, 6s. 8d. To the players who played before the lord prior on Ascension Day, 6s. 8d. (1444)." "To divers persons dancing (*tripudiantes*) on the night of the Translation of St. Thomas, 13s. 4d. (1446)." "To the boys who sang on the Feast of the Epiphany, 3s. 4d. To the boys of Thomas Ware playing before the prior, 10s. (1447)."

Of course the plays, minstrels, and dancers were only occasional; probably all amusements were more or less exceptional, only to be indulged in as graver occupations permitted and as the need of relaxation was felt. The monotony and austerity of monastic life and the strain of incessant religious offices made rest and change imperative. This was obviously in the mind of Archbishop Walter Reynolds when he begged the Pope's licence to convey to the priory the manor of Caldicote, that the monks might breathe fresher air there after being blooded or otherwise over-fatigued.

About five o'clock in winter or six in summer the bell called the brethren to vespers in the choir; after vespers supper, consisting of one dish and a pittance, was served in the Frater. This meal, however, was not allowed excepting on festivals from All Saints' Day till Christmas and from Epiphany till Easter. If any monk felt unable to go without food till the next day, he was allowed a little bread and some kind of drink, known as the *potum caritatis.* Then came a reading in the chapter-house; a short interval during which the brethren could walk in the cloister or warm themselves at the fire in the *deportum* or common recreation room; and compline, the last hour or office of the day.

Substructure of the Cellarer's Gate House
Now part of the house of the Bishop of Dover

At half-past seven in winter or half-past eight in summer came the signal for rest, and they went silently to the dormitory and to bed.

There were, of course, customs and regulations in every monastery which, though deeply affecting the daily life of the inmates, do not readily find a place in any account of a typical day's routine. No monk, for instance, was supposed to possess any personal property; it was therefore somewhat of a scandal when after the death of Brother John Viel in 1444 the sum of £4 16s. 8d. was discovered in his cubicle in the dormitory. But small allowances of pocket-money were often made on special occasions or in acknowledgment of special services, such as riding abroad in attendance on the prior, when the want of a few coins might be embarrassing. On Maundy Thursday the almoner distributed a number of "signa" (or tokens) to the brethren and servants of the house for their Easter offerings, giving three to the sub-prior and cellarer, two to the precentor, sacrist, chamberlain, and granger, four to the infirmarer and penitentiary, and one each to the succentor, third chanter, sub-chamberlain, hostler (*hostelario*), cook, and all who carried a staff in the infirmary. Sermons were preached in the cathedral from time to time by the more learned or eloquent of the brethren, and a fee was paid to the preacher—3s. 4d., or at most 6s. 8d., for a Latin sermon, and twice as much for plain English to the common people. It is a curious reflection that in our day it would be much easier to earn the higher rate of remuneration. Sometimes these sermons were preached by visiting friars, for in 1453 we have an entry, "to the friars who preached in our church on divers occasions this year, 29s. 8d." It would seem as though friars did not receive, or would not accept, as much as the monks.

W. D.
C. E. W.

APPENDIX

PRIORS OF CHRIST CHURCH

1080–96. HENRY, became abbot of Battle, where he died in 1102.

1096–1107. ERNULF, a pupil of Lanfranc at Bec, rebuilt the choir of Canterbury Cathedral, was elected abbot of Burgh (Peterborough) in 1107 and Bishop of Rochester in 1114, where he built the dormitory, frater, the prior's gate, and part of the cloister. He died March 14, 1124, aged eighty-four.

1108–26. CONRAD, beautified the interior of the choir built by his predecessor, recast the great bell which Ernulf had given, and gave to the church of Canterbury a number of valuable vestments and ornaments. He became abbot of St. Benedict's, Hulme, in 1126, where he died in the following year.

1126–28. GEOFFREY, became abbot of Dunfermline in 1154, where he wrote a work called *Historia Apostolica.* He died in 1154.

1129–37. ELMER, is described by Gervase "as a man of great simplicity and very religious." It was during his priorate that Anselm's choir was dedicated by Archbishop Corbeil on May 4, 1130. Died 1137.

1137–43. JEREMIAH, resigned under pressure brought to bear upon him by Archbishop Theobald. He then joined the monastery of St. Augustine, where he died and was buried.

1143–49. WALTER DURDENT, described as "a most religious man and learned in the Scriptures." In 1149 he became Bishop of Chester.

1149–50. WALTER THE LITTLE (*Parvus*), had been chaplain to Archbishop Theobald, by whom he was deposed from the priorate in 1150 and sent to Gloucester Abbey.

1151–67. Wybert, of whom Gervase says "well known in all good works," chief amongst which was the introduction into the precincts of a good water-supply. He died September 27, 1167, and was buried in the chapter-house. (Somner's "Antiquities of Canterbury," p. 141.)

1167–75. Odo, was Prior at the time of the murder of Archbishop Becket; in 1175 he was elected abbot of Battle.

1175–77. Benedict, wrote a life of St. Thomas of Canterbury. He became abbot of Peterborough in 1177, and took with him some of the stones of the pavement in the transept "on which the holy martyr fell," and built two altars with them in Peterborough Cathedral, the nave of which church he completed; he also built the great abbey gate. He died in 1193.

1177–79. Herlewin, had been a chaplain of Archbishop Richard. He resigned on account of age and failing sight.

1179–86. Alan, though an Englishman, spent some years as a canon of Benevento, and entered the priory of Christ Church in 1174. During his priorate the rebuilding of the choir was finished. Gervase says that when Henry II came to Canterbury in 1186, the archbishop persuaded the King to appoint him to the abbacy of Tewkesbury, as a punishment for his resistance to Baldwin's college at Hackington.

1186–88. Honorius, had been chaplain to Archbishop Baldwin, but as Prior vigorously opposed the Archbishop's scheme for founding a college of canons at Hackington. For this purpose he went to Rome to lay the appeal of the convent before Pope Urban III. He died of plague at Velletri on October 21, 1188, and was buried in the cloister of the Lateran at Rome.

1189 (From October 6 to November 30). Roger

NORRIS, a partisan of Baldwin, by whom he was thrust into the priorate against the will of the monks. In 1189 the archbishop was compelled to depose him, and in the following year he was appointed abbot of Evesham by King Richard I. At Evesham he lived a scandalous life, and was deposed by Archbishop Hubert Walter in 1213.

1190. OSBERT OF BRISTOL, intruded by Baldwin. His death occurred a few weeks after his appointment.

1191–1213. GEOFFREY II, as sub-prior had represented the convent during the absence of Prior Honorius, and had taken an active part in the struggle with Archbishop Baldwin; as prior he headed the opposition to Archbishop Hubert. When the monks of Christ Church were exiled by King John, Geoffrey retired to the abbey of Pontigny. He died at sea when returning to England in 1213.

1213–22. WALTER III, during whose priorate the translation of the relics of St. Thomas of Canterbury was carried out (July 7, 1220). In the same year Pope Honorius granted to the priors of Christ Church the right to wear the ring and mitre.

1222–32. JOHN OF SITTINGBOURNE, was elected by the monks to succeed Archbishop Richard (Wethershede) in 1232, but the election was set aside by the Pope. Much work was done in the cloister during his priorate. Died July 18, 1234.

1232–38. JOHN OF CHATHAM, continued the work in the cloister. He resigned his office in consequence of certain alleged tampering with the monastic charters.

1239–44. ROGER OF LEE, elected January 7, 1239, after a vacancy of nearly a year; built the ambulatory under the prior's chapel. Resigned in 1244, but continued an inmate of the convent until his death, which occurred on August 24, 1258.

1244–58. NICHOLAS OF SANDWICH, enthroned Archbishop Boniface in the presence of King Henry III and Queen Eleanor in 1249. Resigned in 1258, and was appointed precentor in 1262, but, "being inaudible," he was removed from that office, and died in 1289.

1258–63. ROGER OF ST. ALPHEGE, built the prior's chapel over the south alley of the infirmary cloister. Died September 29, 1263, and was buried on the north side of the chapel of St. Thomas.

1264–74. ADAM OF CHILLENDEN. He was elected to the primacy on the death of Archbishop Boniface by the monks, but placed his resignation in the hands of the Pope on account of the violent opposition of the King to his candidature. He died September 13, 1274.

1274–84. THOMAS RINGMERE, had been chaplain to Archbishop Kilwardby; attempted to reform the discipline of the monastery, but without success. Resigned in 1284 and joined the Cistercian abbey of Beaulieu in Hampshire, and later became a hermit at Brookwood in Windsor Forest. Died *c.* 1311.

1284–1331. HENRY OF EASTRY, ruled the monastery for forty-seven years and was a great benefactor to the house. A list of building works undertaken by this Prior is in Register I, f. 212, and is printed in *Archæologia Cantiana*, vol. vii. pp. 185–87. He was buried in the cathedral "near the image of St. Osyth," but the position of this image is unknown.

1331–38. RICHARD OXENDEN, the second son of Soloman de Oxenden of Nonington. Died August 4, 1338, and was buried in St. Michael's Chapel.

1338–70. ROBERT HATHBRAND, rebuilt the kitchen, the hall of the infirmary known as the "Master's

Table," and remodelled the chancel of the infirmary chapel. He acted as tutor to two of the sons of King Edward III. During his priorate Canterbury College in Oxford was founded by Archbishop Islip (1363). He died July 16, 1370, and was buried in St. Michael's Chapel.

1370–76. Richard Gillingham, during his priorate the convent paid £1000 to King Edward III to release their church estates from the exactions of the King's justices after the death of Archbishop Whittlesey. He died August 31, 1376.

1376–77. Stephen Mongeham, assisted at the funeral of Prince Edward (the Black Prince) in 1376.

1377–91. John Finch, obtained from the Pope the privilege of wearing the pontifical sandals, of carrying the pastoral staff, and of giving benediction in the absence of the archbishop. In his days the Norman nave of the cathedral was pulled down and a new nave was commenced. He died January 25, 1391, and was buried in the chapel of the Martyrdom.

1391–1411. Thomas Chillenden, educated at Paris, Bologna, and Oxford; doctor of canon and civil law; called by Leland "the greatest builder of a prior that ever was in Christes Church." A list of his building operations and other good works is inscribed on the account roll of the year of his death, and the greater part has been printed by Willis, *ut supra*, and by Dr. Sheppard in *Literæ Cantuarienses*, R.S., vol. iii. pp. 112–22. He died August 15, 1411, and was buried in the nave of the cathedral next to the tomb of Archbishop Arundel.

1411–27. John Wodnesburgh, was a man of good business habits, who paid off all the debts of his predecessors and continued several of the works left unfinished by Chillenden. He died in his study called the "Gloriet" on February 28, 1427–28, and was buried in the nave at the head of his predecessor.

1428–37. WILLIAM MOLASH, "a man of great purity and religion." He was warden of Canterbury College in Oxford from 1413 to 1426. During his priorate the first stone of the great central tower was laid on August 4, 1433. Molash died February 19, 1437. The place of his burial is not recorded, but it is not unlikely that the large marble slab bearing the matrix for a brass effigy of an ecclesiastic in the floor of the southern aisle of the crypt marks his tomb.

1437–46. JOHN SARISBURY, before his election as Prior had been warden of Canterbury College. He died January 19, 1446, and was buried at the upper end of the nave.

1446–49. JOHN ELHAM, died February 21, 1449, and was buried in the nave at the head of Prior Wodnesburgh.

1449–68. THOMAS GOLDSTON I, previously warden of Canterbury College. Built the new Lady Chapel opening out of the north transept, in which he was buried. He died August 6, 1468.

1468–71. JOHN OXNEY. Died July 2, 1471.

1471–72. WILLIAM PETHAM. Died August 19, 1472.

1472–94. WILLIAM SELLINGE. A native of Sellinge, near Hythe, and probably a son of William Tilley of the same place. Was a student of Canterbury College, and afterwards in the University of Bologna, where he obtained the doctorate in divinity. Somner says of him that "out of his affection to antiquities he gathered together wherever he came in Italy all the ancient authors, both Greek and Latin, and brought them over into England and into Canterbury." Amongst his building works were the erection of a great part of the central tower and the room over the Prior's gateway. He died December 4, 1494, and was buried in the north-west transept.

1495–1517. Thomas Goldston II, S.T.P., had been warden of Canterbury College. He was a great builder, and a list of his works and benefactions is printed in Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, vol. i. pp. 146–47. The latest was the erection of the great gateway on the south side of the precincts. He died September 1517, and was buried beside his predecessor.

1517–40. Thomas Goldwell. He was educated at the Universities of Paris and Louvain. At the suppression of the priory Goldwell retired with a pension of £80 a year.

C. E. W.

CHAPTER XII

THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH ON THE EVE OF THE REFORMATION

Before we pass on to Henry VIII's new foundation, and to those changes of faith and ritual which swept away so much that the mediæval Church had highly prized, it may be well to attempt a reconstruction of the general aspect of the cathedral church—its altars, shrines, relics, chantries, tombs, and ornaments—before the destructive besom of the Reformers was applied.

In our task we shall have the assistance of Erasmus, who paid a visit to Christ Church, Canterbury, in 1513; and we can supplement the account given in his *Perigrinatio Religionis ergo* [1] by information drawn from other sources.

Erasmus says: "The great church of St. Thomas rears itself up to the sky so majestically that it strikes us with religious awe even from a distance, eclipsing the splendour of the older, and formerly more sacred, place [St. Augustine's]. Two [*sic*] immense towers salute the visitor from afar, thrilling the air far and wide with the clang of brazen bells. In the porch, which is toward the south, stand three men—in armour and carved in stone—who with their impious hands murdered the most holy man, their names, Tusci, Fusci, Berri, being subjoined."

By "in the porch" Erasmus doubtless means "on the porch," and we may picture to ourselves the images of the three knights, Tracy, Fitzurse, and Le Breton (why Hugh de Moreville was omitted we cannot guess), occupying the now empty panel over the outer doorway. Erasmus does not mention the little bas-relief representation on the other panel of the altar of the Sword Point, but it was there, and in a better state of preservation than it now is; for in addition to the ravages of the hand of Time, it formed a target for the bullets of the Parliamentary soldiers during the Great Rebellion.

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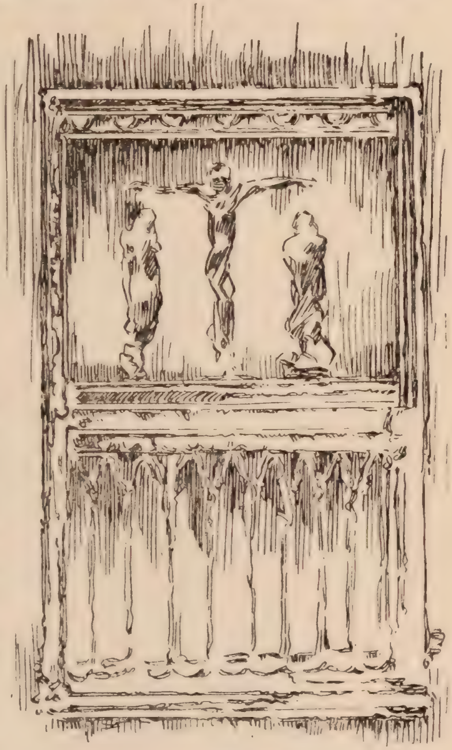
[1] D. Erasmus, *Colloquia* (Amsterdam, 1662), 374.



Altar of the Sword Point

Erasmus's account of the nave is disappointing. He says there was nothing to be seen there except certain books chained to the pillars, amongst which he noticed the Gospel of Nicodemus and the tomb "of some one whose name I do not know." This is remarkable, because the nave contained the tombs of two Archbishops, viz. those of Simon Islip and William Whittlesey, whose raised monuments with their effigies of brass were conspicuous objects at the upper end of the central alley—Islip on the north side and Whittlesey on the south; and he must also have seen a number of memorials to fifteenth-century priors on the floor of the church.

In addition to the books chained to the pillars there was also a money-box for the offerings of pilgrims "in the middle of the nave" (*De Pixide in medio navi ecclesie V*^{d} *ob.* "Sacrist's Accounts," 1462).

We should have been glad to have some account of the three chantry chapels, two of which—Buckingham's, near the site of the present font, and Arundel's, on the same side further east—Erasmus must have seen, but he says nothing about them; perhaps because at the date he wrote such adjuncts were common enough in most churches. Nor does he mention the Consistory Court enclosed by screens beneath the north-western tower. He has something to say about the iron gates and grille which shut out the lay people from the upper part of the church, but does not notice the great Rood, which with its attendant images was suspended between the eastern piers of the tower over the loft or *pulpitum* which surmounted the choir screen. Nor does he mention the altar of the Holy Cross—the people's altar—which stood probably upon the first platform in the flight of steps leading to the choir, and where certain relics were kept "in a wooden desk partly covered with silver-gilt, with gems and a cross in the midst."[1]

There was, moreover, a second altar of the Holy Cross, described in the monastic accounts as "on the south side of the church," which perhaps stood beneath a second Rood at the end of the south aisle.

Somewhere in the nave there was a small image of St. Thomas of Canterbury, which was remarkable for the fact that the saint was represented as holding four swords in his hand,[2] but Erasmus did not notice it.

Passing through the iron gates above referred to, Erasmus and his friend Colet were conducted to the scene of the martyrdom in the north-west transept, which was reached by way of the tunnel-like passage beneath the steps leading to the choir. Here they were shown the altar of the Sword Point, "erected on the very place where the holy man fell." Erasmus describes the altar as "a wooden one sacred to the Holy Virgin, insignificant and not worth visiting save as a monument of antiquity, putting to shame the luxury of these times. There the holy man is said to have uttered a last farewell to the Virgin when death was nigh at hand. On the altar is the point of the sword with which the head of the most excellent prelate was cleft and his brain mixed together in order that his death might be more speedy. The sacred rust of this sword from love of the martyr we religiously kissed."

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[1] "Inventories of Christ Church," *op. cit.* p. 38.

[2] "In uno parvo ymagine in navi ecclesie in honorem sancti Thome cum quatuor gladiis in manu sua v^{s} iiij^{d}." Stone's "Chronicle," ed. M. R. James, *op. cit.* p. 18

The point of Richard the Breton's sword seems usually to have stood upon or over the altar, and had a special set of coverings, that were withdrawn on such occasions as the relic was displayed. Amongst other relics kept in the Martyrdom were two golden rings, formerly belonging to or worn by St. Thomas and St. Edmund the Archbishop, which are described as "of great and wonderful virtue for relieving the eyes of sick persons."[1]

From the Martyrdom Erasmus descended to the crypt, where he was shown a head enclosed in silver which he took to be a reliquary enclosing the pierced skull of St. Thomas, but which was more probably the new relic of St. Dunstan which had recently been enclosed in a mitred bust of silver, since there is no other record of any part of St. Thomas's head being kept in the crypt. He was also shown the coffin-plate of the martyr with the inscription "Thomas of Acre," and in the gloom which surrounded the saint's tomb he noticed "the hair shirt, the girdle, and the drawers by means of which the saint subdued the flesh" hanging from the pillars. From the crypt he was conducted to the choir, where the great almonry or relic cupboard on the north side near the high altar[1] was unlocked and its contents displayed. "It is wonderful to tell," says Erasmus, "how many bones were brought out thence—skulls, jawbones, teeth, hands, fingers, and whole arms." "A most concise summary," says Mr. St. John Hope, "of the contents of this cupboard, as set forth in the inventory." The inventory in question was drawn up when Henry of Eastry was prior, but it probably represents pretty fairly what the cupboard contained at a later date, and in order to give some idea of the extraordinary nature and extent of the collection we will quote here Mr. Hope's able analysis of the said inventory:

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[1] "Inventories of Christ Church, Canterbury," Messrs. Legg and Hope (London, 1902), pp. 125–37.

> First in order are three heads of St. Blaise, St. Furse, and St. Austroberta, each enclosed in silver-gilt. Next come eleven arms of saints, each encased in an arm-shaped reliquary of silver-gilt. Then follow fifty-six separate reliquaries of various kinds and shapes, containing every conceivable class of relic. Seven of them were in the form of crosses, of which four were double-barrelled as containing particles of the true Cross; a fifth was St. Andrew's cross, because it contained relics of that saint; and a sixth was a cross of St. Peter with reversed image, enclosing some of St. Peter's cross; the other cross was a gold one full of relics given by Stephen Langton. In a crystal tube was a thorn of our Lord's crown.
>
> The second group of relics, which was probably kept in one half of the great double cupboard, begins with four single items, namely, Aaron's rod, a "table" (probably a slab) from the tomb of the Blessed Mary, the super-altar, and a chalice made of crystal, gold, and enamel, with a paten *de perle* that once belonged to St. Alphege. Next come nineteen *filactria* or reliquaries that could be hung up by cords, made of crystal, copper, silver or silver-gilt, and containing bones of various saints. In two of them were relics of St. Thomas. The next on the list are a small silver-gilt cup containing St. Thomas's pall, and a round glass in which was some of the dust of his body. Among the seven following items is an oblong crystalline stone set in silver-gilt, under which was some of the saint's flesh and skin. But a much more impor-

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[1] The relic cupboard stood on a raised platform, as shown in Hollar's plan published in Dugdale's *Monasticon*, i. 18, between the tombs of Archbishops Chicheley and Bourchier.

tant lot of relics was preserved in the next reliquary, a great ivory coffer guarded by a lock. This contained the simple white mitre in which St. Thomas had been buried, another white mitre he was wont to use on simple feasts, his gloves, his sandals of blue embroidered with gold roses, besants, and crescents; his buskins of black samite, his famous hair shirt, and some of his bed and girdle.[1] Two packets of other relics of the saint, wrapped in white silk, were likewise enclosed in the coffer. The next three items in the list were standing " tables " of silver-gilt containing various relics. The remaining reliquaries, chiefly of ivory, and copper boxes or caskets, need only be mentioned on account of the miscellaneous curiosities preserved in some of them, such as :

Some of the stone upon which the Lord stood when He ascended into Heaven.

Some of the Lord's table upon which He made the Supper.

Some of the prison whence the angel of the Lord snatched the blessed Apostle Peter.

Some wool which Mary the Virgin had woven.

Some of the oak upon which Abraham [*sic*] climbed to see the Lord.

And some of the clay out of which God fashioned Adam.

Perhaps it was as well that these extraordinary " curiosities " did not meet the eye of Erasmus, who tells us that before the contents of the relic cupboard were exhausted the enthusiasm of the showman was so damped by the restiveness of Colet that he shut up his wares and the pilgrims passed on to view the glories of the high altar. After viewing the silver-gilt *tabula* and other ornaments of the high altar, the visitors proceeded " to the vaulted chamber under the steps which led to the archbishop's throne. This chamber is entered from the north side of the presbytery immediately opposite the vestry. It retains its ancient floor of encaustic tiles, and has two grated windows looking into the crypt, but none of its old fittings remain. From this treasury Erasmus and his friends were led into the vestry in the chapel of St. Andrew, and possibly into the inner vestry or treasury beyond, where the muniments and more precious jewels were kept. 'Good God !' exclaims Erasmus, 'what pomp was there of silk vestments! What wealth of gold candlesticks! In the same place we saw the staff of the blessed Thomas! It seemed to be a cane covered with silver plates; it was of little weight, no workmanship, nor any higher than to the girdle.' He says he saw no cross, but was shown the *pallium*, which he asserts was all of silk, though of coarse thread and unornamented with gold or gems; also a handkerchief retaining manifest traces of sweat wiped from the neck and of blood."[1] Perhaps time did not allow the visitors to see the magnificent vestments stored in the presses and cope chests, of which the church had a wonderful store; at any rate, Erasmus says nothing about them. Of copes no fewer than two hundred and sixty-two are enumerated in an inventory which was taken at the time of the suppression of the priory. This extraordinary profusion of copes is partly accounted for by the fact that it was one of the privileges of the church of Canterbury to receive from every suffragan bishop of the southern province at his consecration "a decent cope" and a profession of canonical obedience. The abbots of religious houses situated in the diocese of Canterbury also offered "profession copes" to the mother-church. But the most magnificent specimens of the embroiderer's art were obtained by the gift of archbishops, priors, and even of simple monks. Some of them were actually the handiwork of the brethren; for Stone tells us that Brother Thomas Selmeston, who died of the plague in 1419, was the most highly skilled embroiderer in the kingdom, and says that in his day many examples of Selmeston's art remain in the vestry of the church, "notably the golden chasuble of Thomas Herne and the vestment of Richard Ruton."[2]

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[1] The hair shirt and girdle had apparently been transferred to the crypt in Erasmus's days.

From the vestry Erasmus and his friend were conducted to the "upper parts" of the church—that is, to the retro-choir. Here he saw first, "in a certain little chapel" (the circular chapel of the Holy Trinity at the extreme east end of the church), the relic called the "corona," which he describes as "the whole face of the most holy man, gilt and ornamented with many gems." This was the mitred bust of St. Thomas which enclosed what at Canterbury was always called Corona—*i.e.* St. Thomas's crown—but was known to the world at large from its shape as the *Caput sancti Thome* or St. Thomas's head. Finally, after visiting the shrine of St. Thomas—of which a sufficient description has been given in a previous chapter—the visitors, before leaving the church, returned to the crypt to see the chapel of the Virgin, and paid a second visit to the vestry to inspect some other relics of St. Thomas.

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[1] "Inventories of Christ Church," *op. cit.* p. 42.

[2] Stone's "Chronicle," *ut supra*, p. 10.

We will now part company from Erasmus and take a brief survey of the church on our own account.

The arrangement of the choir will first occupy our attention. At the western entrance we are met by the usher of the choir door (*ostiarius chori*), who, as we pass beneath the rood screen sprinkles us with holy water with the silver-handled *aspersorium*, which hangs by a chain against the inner jamb of the arch.[1] On entering the choir, our attention is at once drawn to the arras hangings which are suspended from hooks fixed in the pillars, above the traceried stonework of Prior Eastry's lateral screens.[2] Of these hangings the church possessed several sets. If, however, our visit should be on one of the greater festivals, then the choir would be decked with the "faire new hanging of rich tapestrie," which had been recently given by Richard Dering, the cellarer, and Prior Thomas

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[1] "One holy water stock w^{t} a sprýnkeller of sylver, lxxv^{oz}." Inventory of 1540. The marks made by the fraying of the chain from which the *asperge* was suspended are still visible on the left-hand side of the western jamb of the outer archway of the choir screen.

[2] The hooks are shown in a picture of the choir painted by Thomas Johnson, 1657, a reproduction of which was published by the Society of Antiquaries in 1911.

Goldston II. This tapestry was in six pieces, three on the north side and three on the south, and displayed respectively scenes from the life of our Lord and of the blessed Virgin Mary. All six pieces survived the Reformation, and were in use when Somner published his "Antiquities of Canterbury" in 1640, but within the next decade they were cleared out by the Puritans. After their alienation from Christ Church, they appear to have been taken across the water and sold in Paris to a canon of the cathedral of Aix in Provence, where they are still preserved.[1]

These hangings were suspended (as we have already stated) above the double row of stalls north and south of the choir. It is doubtful whether in the pre-Reformation cathedral there were any return stalls at the western end of the choir. It has generally been supposed that the stall of the archbishop was upon the right-hand side of the door in the rood screen, and that of the prior on the left-hand side; but the records of the installation of archbishops give no confirmatory evidence of this, since the procedure on these occasions seems to have been to place the archbishop (after his enthronisation in the patriarchal chair) first in his stall or throne at the eastern end of the monastic stalls upon the south side of the choir, and afterwards in the prior's stall, which occupied a corresponding position on the north side. It is true that under the wainscot at the west end of the choir there are some mutilated remains of canopies on Eastry's screen-work which have been taken as indications that the western screen was provided with stalls; but we think that it is more probable that these canopies surmounted niches for images.[2]

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[1] *See* a paper by Dr. M. R. James on "The Tapestries at Aix in Provence," in the "Transactions of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society," vol. xi.

[2] Stone, *op. cit.* p. 18, mentions the following images in the choir: St. Thomas, St. Edmund, St. Anselm, St. Ælfric, St. Plegmund, and St. Otho. He also says there were twelve others, but does not name them.

But to proceed with our survey. Advancing eastwards, we reach the floor of the presbytery by an ascent of two steps between the sixth piers of the main arcade, noticing on our way the great desk for the chanters or rulers of the choir, set in a socket cut in a semicircular projection in the lower step.[1] The presbytery occupies the space between the transepts, from the eastern piers of which and between the tombs of Archbishops Kemp and Chicheley was suspended the great curtain which during the season of Lent shut off the view of the high altar.[2] By a further ascent of three steps we reach a platform seven or eight feet wide, on the north side of which is the reliquary cupboard mentioned by Erasmus. On this platform it is probable that the "grete paschall maste" for the enormous candle which was kept burning from Easter to Ascensiontide was placed. Beyond this platform six more steps lead up to the *sacrarium*, lying between the tombs of Archbishops Bourchier (north) and Sudbury (south). Midway between the ninth piers is the high altar with the altars and shrines of St. Dunstan and St. Alphege, placed respectively north and south of it, and probably a little to the west.[3] Whether there was any wall or continuous screenwork behind the high altar is uncertain. In Conrad's choir the high altar was isolated, and it is not unlikely that this arrangement was perpetuated in the reconstruction after the great fire, since there would have been a natural desire not to obstruct completely the view of the patriarchal chair, which stood at the top of the steps behind the altar. The splendid *tabula* or altar-piece of silver-gilt, with its golden image of the Holy Trinity in the midst, flanked by silver figures of apostles and surmounted by the magnificent pyx which has been described in a former chapter, may have been of the nature of a reredos, but need not have extended much beyond the width of the altar.

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[1] *See* Gostling, ed. 1825, p. 307.

[2] One of the hooks for the pulleys still remains in the pier next to Archbishop Kemp's tomb.

[3] The position of the high altar is fixed by the grant of a place of sepulture to Archbishop Bourchier "on the north side of the choir between the two columns next to the altar of St. Alphege," on condition that his monument should not screen the light of the north window from the high altar.

On the festivals of St. Thomas of Canterbury, all three altars were decked with " the frontals of crimson velvet all richly embroidered with the story of Thomas Becket in Venice gold," described in the inventory of 1540.

On the north side of the high altar we should see probably the brazen eagle desk given by Prior Goldston II for the use of the gospeller at high mass; and in front of it, suspended by chains from the vault, three basins of silver plate, the gift of Archbishop Arundel, and which doubtless served as sanctuary lamps; while a conspicuous object behind the altar would be the silver-plated rood fixed to a beam upon which also various reliquary chests were placed, notably the shrine of St. Blaise, which contained the earliest relic acquired by the church.

Eastward of the beam which supported the rood a further flight of nine steps leads up to the patriarchal chair of Petworth marble, made probably in 1220, and in which the successors of St. Augustine have been placed at their enthronisation ever since. Behind the archbishop's seat are iron gates enclosing the chapel of St. Thomas, beyond which we will not penetrate, as the treasures of the saint's shrine have already been sufficiently described in another place.

Something, however, must be said about the side altars and the various relics deposited at or near them. Thus, returning to the south-east transept, we notice upon a beam placed over the altar of St. John the Evangelist coffers containing the remains of Archbishops Wulfhelm, Æthelgar, Siric, and Ælfric; while at the altar of St. Gregory further south are those of

Archbishops Bregwyn and Æthelm. Here too is an image of the Blessed Virgin; before which a lamp is perpetually burning. In the corresponding transept on the north side of the choir the relics of Archbishops Cuthbert and Æthelheard are preserved at the altar of St. Stephen, and those of Archbishops Wulfred, Living, and Lanfranc and of Queen Ediva at the adjoining altar of St. Martin. Between these altars we notice another image of St. Mary the Virgin,[1] and close by, perhaps painted on the shaft or pillar which supported it, a representation of the height of our Lady, called in the monastic accounts *Mensura beate Marie Virginis.* The earliest reference to this curious object occurs in the will of one Edmund Staplegate, a citizen of Canterbury, who among other bequests left "a taper of 28 lb. weight to burn before the Measure of the blessed Mary in the Church of Christ in Canterbury." Its position in the church seems to be determined by the fact that in 1392 the sacrist paid 79s. 4d. for "the painting of the measure of the blessed Virgin Mary, and the lower table at the altar of St. Stephen, and the two little upper tables at the altar of St. Martin." "Measures" of the height of our Lord formerly existed in the church of St. Denis in France and in the church of St. John Lateran at Rome, but no other instance of a "measure" of the blessed Virgin Mary has been noted.[2] Whatever may have been the precise character of the Christ Church "measure," it was destroyed soon after the suppression of the priory, for in the year 1541–42 the cathedral carpenter was paid 10d. "for whyttyng the place in the chirche where the mete of our Lady was."

We cannot spare space to describe in detail the extraordinary collection of relics possessed by the church in the Middle Ages. A list of them compiled in 1315–16, when Henry of Eastry was Prior, has been printed by Dr. Wickham Legg and Mr. St. John Hope in their "Inventories of Christ Church," and we must be content with the summary which Mr. Hope gives of the marvellous collection, which he divides into the following five classes :

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[1] Stone's "Chronicle," p. 102.

[2] *See* "Inventories of Christ Church, Canterbury," *op. cit.* p. 111.

(1) The greater relics of saints and archbishops canonised at Rome, or in popular estimation, which were placed in standing shrines or tombs.

(2) The lesser relics of saints and archbishops, contained in portable or movable shrines.

(3) The relics of former archbishops and pious lay folk buried or placed near altars.

(4) Miscellaneous objects enclosed in reliquaries.

(5) The tombs of certain archbishops who were the objects of popular veneration and pilgrimage.

Of the greater relics placed in standing shrines or tombs, that of St. Thomas, of course, heads the list, and is followed by those of St. Alphege and St. Dunstan, each in his shrine, the former on the north and the latter on the south side of the high altar. The body of St. Odo lay in a shrine on the south side of the round chapel at the extreme eastern end of the church, where the crown of St. Thomas was kept, and that of St. Wilfrid was opposite to it on the north side.

St. Anselm's body is described in the list as "in the shrine of St. Peter" (the altar was dedicated to SS. Peter and Paul) ; and the Archbishop's *feretrum* was probably a raised tomb beside it or in front of it, but no traces of it are left. The remaining six bodies were lesser relics, consisting of mere boxes of bones deposited at convenient places.

In the crypt Gervase records the position of nine altars, viz.,

(1) The altar of St. Mary the Virgin, beneath the high altar.

(2) The altar of St. Nicholas, in the south apse of the north-east transept.

(3) The altar of St. Mary Magdalene, in the north apse of the north-east transept.

(4) The altar of the Holy Innocents, beneath St. Andrew's Tower.

(5) The altar of St. John the Baptist, beneath the chapel of St. Thomas, on the north side.

(6) The altar of St. Augustine, beneath the chapel of St. Thomas, on the south side.

(7) The altar of St. Audoen, in the south apse of the south-east transept.

(8) The altar of St. Paulinus, in the north apse of the south-east transept.

(9) The altar of St. Katherine, in the centre of the south-east transept.

The three last-named saints must, however, have found other depositories when the crypt beneath the south-east transept was converted into a chantry chapel by the Black Prince. St. Audoen, we know, was transferred to a new shrine in the great relic cupboard under the steps behind the high altar; and St. Katherine was made to share the altar of St. Mary Magdalene in the north transept. What became of St. Paulinus is not recorded. In addition to the altars mentioned by Gervase, the monastic accounts show that in the fifteenth century the crypt also contained altars dedicated to St. Clement, St. Edmund of Pontigny, St. Thomas the Apostle, and St. Bartholomew. Of the last-named saint the church possessed a notable relic—namely, his arm, given by King Canute; and somewhere in the crypt there was a chapel of St. Bartholomew, but its position is unknown.

The above brief description of the mother-church on the eve of the great change which was to strip her of her treasures and reduce to dust the chiefest of them all may suffice to recall some of her glories, though it by no means exhausts them. Of Becket Battely writes that when by command of

Henry VIII his body was burnt to ashes, "his heart was found among those ashes unconsumed and even entire. This," he adds, "was more of a miracle than anything that was pretended to be done by St. Thomas the Martyr."

It is an exceedingly improbable story, but perhaps we may accept it as a symbol that the truly imperishable memorials of a church or a cause are to be found in the hearts and lives, the courage and devotion of the men who, with whatever faults and frailties, served and loved it.

C. E. W.

CHAPTER XIII

FROM THE NEW FOUNDATION TO THE PRIMACY OF LAUD

1540–1633

The Royal Charter incorporating the new capitular body was sealed on April 8, 1541, just over a year after the dissolution of the convent.[1] It recites (1) the surrender to the King of the monastery and all its possessions; (2) the King's desire that the true worship of God be not abolished therein, but restored and reformed, and the establishment to that end of a collegiate church consisting of a dean and twelve canons; (3) the confirmation of the cathedral and metropolitical church and archiepiscopal see with all its honours and distinctions (*honoribus et insigniis*) to Cranmer and his successors; (4) the perpetual gift to them of the archiepiscopal palace; (5) the grant to the new cathedral body of all the precinct, site, and buildings of the late monastery, with all the ancient privileges, liberties, and free customs, saving the palace reserved for the Archbishop and the cellarer's hall and lodging retained for the King.

The full constitution of the cathedral body as set forth in the statutes issued at about the same time was as follows: a dean, twelve prebendaries, six preachers, twelve minor canons, one deacon, one sub-deacon, twelve lay clerks, one master of the choristers, ten choristers, two teachers of the grammar school, fifty scholars, twelve bedesmen, two sub-sacristans, two vergers, two gate-porters (who were also to act as barbers), one manciple, one butler, one under-butler, one cook, one under-cook, four bellringers—in all 134 persons.

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[1] This document and its fellow containing the statutes disappeared probably during the Parliamentary wars, since after the Restoration the Chapter informed Archbishop Juxon that they had been "imbezled away." The existing copies are undated, and not earlier than the middle of the seventeenth century.

Similar—indeed, practically identical—constitutions were provided for all the cathedral churches of the new foundation, the only peculiarity of that of the metropolitical church being the provision for the six preachers, which was not made elsewhere. At Canterbury the preachers, in addition to preaching in the cathedral on saints' days, were to deliver at least twenty sermons in the neighbourhood, especially in the churches of those parishes where the dean and chapter possessed landed estates. Houses were allotted to them in the precincts, and they were provided with horses in order to enable them to fulfil their duties in the country parishes.

The dean and prebendaries were the governing body, and their names, which were written in the charter, indicate the King's intention to hold the balance equally between the old and the new learning.[1] Cranmer did not wholly approve the scheme. "The sect of prebendaries," he wrote to Cromwell in a curious letter quoted by Dr. Mason in his "Thomas Cranmer," "spend their time in much idleness and their substance in superfluous belly cheer." Instead of twelve prebendaries at £40 a year each, he advised

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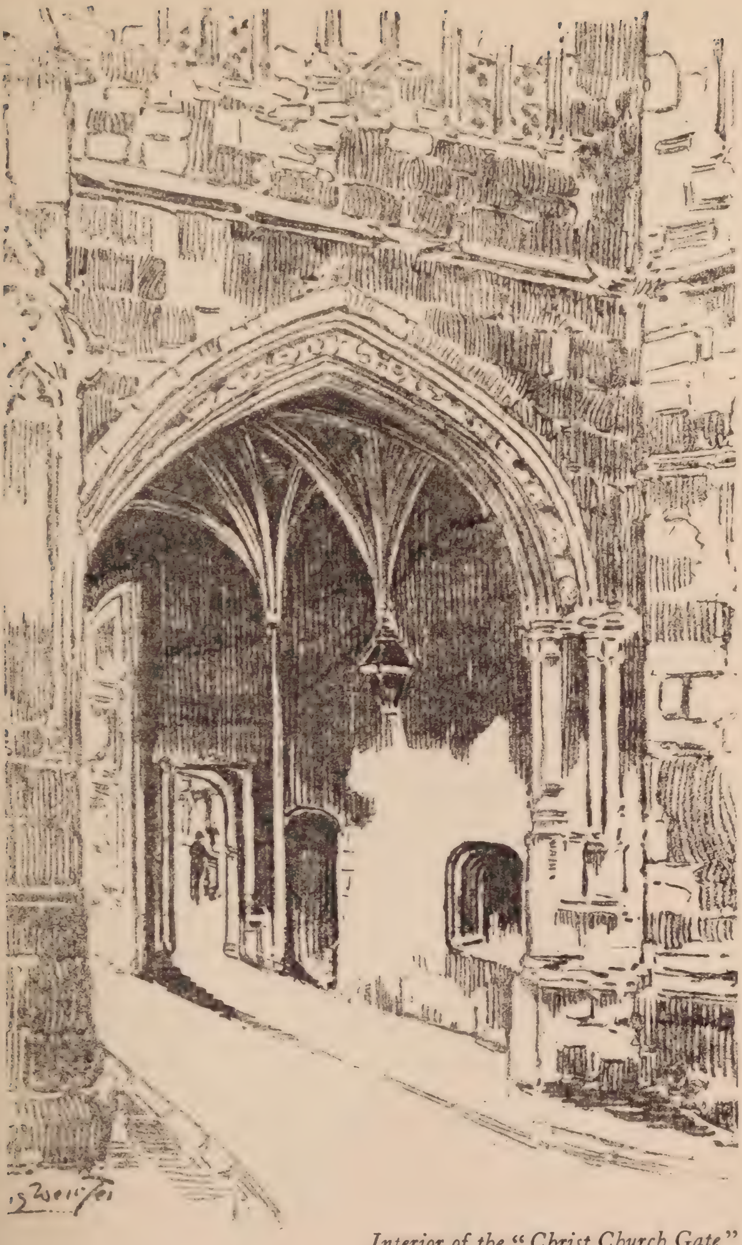
[1] "The names of the first prebendaries were: 1st stall, *Richard Thornden*, alias Lested, S.T.P.; 2, Arthur Sentleger; 3, Richard Champion, S.T.P.; 4, Richard Parkhurst; 5, Nicholas Ridley, S.T.P.; 6, *John Mennys;* 7, Hugh Glasyer; 8, *William Hadleigh*, alias Hunt; 9, *William Sandwich*, alias Gardiner; 10, *John Warham*, alias Mills; 11, *John Chillenden*, alias Danyel; 12, John Baptista de Casia, D.C.L. The names of those printed in italics are those of former monks of the priory." "History of the King's School, Canterbury," Woodruff and Cape, p. 47.



Interior of the "Christ Church Gate"

"twenty divines at £10 apiece, like as it is appointed to be at Oxford and Cambridge; and forty students in the tongues and sciences and French to have ten marks apiece." Cranmer's advice availed nothing at the time, though it might perhaps have made Canterbury a great seat of learning; but in the nineteenth century it was partially, if unconsciously, followed when the number of canons was cut down from twelve to six and a more liberal provision was made for the King's School. Another episode in connection with the new foundation is greatly to Cranmer's honour. When the Commissioners were electing the first fifty King's scholars there was a disposition to admit only those of gentle birth, to keep the children of poor folk "low in the forehead that they might do low work." The Archbishop would have none of it. "Poor men's children are many times endued with more singular gifts of nature, which are also the gifts of God—as with eloquence, memory, apt pronuntiation, sobriety, with such-like—and also more commonly given to apply their study than is the gentleman's son delicately educated. . . . To conclude, if the gentleman's son be apt to learning, let him be admitted; if not, let the poor man's child, apt, enter his room." [1] The history of the King's School has been fully told elsewhere,[2] but a brief summary of its relation to the new foundation may not be out of place here.

In monastic times the archbishop's school was probably taught in a building, long since destroyed, near the palace. The first schoolhouse after the dissolution was the building, now used as stable, coachhouse, and garage, on the south side of the precincts and close to the east side of the mound where stood the old campanile. This building was afterwards used as a "plumbery" and sometimes as a bell-foundry, the great clock-bell "Dunstan" in the south-west tower or Oxford steeple having been recast here in 1762. The structure was partially destroyed by fire during these rather dangerous operations, but was restored on the old lines, and retains the old stonework of the western wall abutting on the mound.

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[1] Strype's "Memorials of the Archbishops" Cranmer, vol. i. p. 127, Oxf. ed.

[2] "History of the King's School, Canterbury," Woodruff and Cape, London, 1909.

Now, in the year 1546 Henry VIII, by what he euphemistically called an exchange, took back from Christ Church eight manors outside the county of Kent together with the almonry buildings in the Mint Yard, giving in return the single manor of Godmersham and a release from the obligation laid upon the Chapter of providing £200 a year for the maintenance of twenty-four scholars at the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. The Mint Yard therefore became by inheritance the property of Queen Mary, who granted it to Cardinal Pole. Pole was a friend to education, and bequeathed the site and buildings to the Chapter for the use of the school. Accordingly in the first year of Queen Elizabeth the King's scholars were removed to the great North-hall, of which we have already given a description in a former chapter.

After a brief interval came, in 1573, another migration. Along the south side of the Mint Yard stood a range of buildings consisting of the old almonry chapel and the lodgings of the seven chaplains who had served it.[1] Here the King's School found a home till the middle of the nineteenth century witnessed the beginning of those extensions and improvements which issued in the present King's School quadrangle.

The statutes of Henry VIII illustrate for us various features of interest in the life both of the school and the cathedral. Each scholar was allotted a stipend of £1 8s. 4d., with allowances for a gown and for meals at the common table, equivalent altogether to about

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[1] An interesting print of these buildings is in Stockdale's etchings, and is reproduced in Woodruff and Cape's "History of the King's School."

£4, or ten times that sum of our money. The gown was no mere badge, but a substantial article of dress, the cloth for which was provided yearly for all subordinate officials of the foundation, and still survives in the gowns of the bedesmen. The arrangement for "free meals" presents us with a curious picture of contemporary customs. The long narrow building known by the monks as the *third* dormitory, which stretched from the Dark Entry to the great dormitory and of which a fragment remains at the foot of the steps leading up to the north door of the library, was fitted up as "the Peticanons'" hall, and served by a manciple, two butlers, and two cooks. Three tables were set therein at which, according to their "quality," sat the "commoners." At the first table were the precentor, head master, and minor canons; at the second the lower master and the lay clerks; at the third the fifty King's scholars and ten chorister boys. The common table was discontinued at the beginning of the seventeenth century, to the loss of all its frequenters, and the hall was destroyed in the time of the Commonwealth.

The enactment that the masters and boys should attend the choir offices on Sundays, holy days, and their eves, suitably dressed (*in habitu competenti choro*), is to this day observed by the surpliced ranks of King's scholars; but the clause which made obligatory a daily attendance at high mass must soon have become obsolete. Nevertheless, the Latin mass kept its place during the lifetime of Henry VIII, as indeed did many other uses of the mediæval church. Thus in the receiver's accounts for 1541 we read of the purchase of 815 lb. of wax for the Paschal candle which burned from Easter to Ascension and cost about £200 of our money.[1] The Epistle and Gospel were, however, to be said in English, and the royal injunctions of 1547 for the first time permit the choristers to discontinue the tonsure, "their heads, nevertheless, to be kept short." By Easter in the following year the issue of the office for Holy Communion in English caused the shadow of obsolescence to creep over Henry's statutes, and the daily attendance of the King's scholars at high mass was dispensed with.

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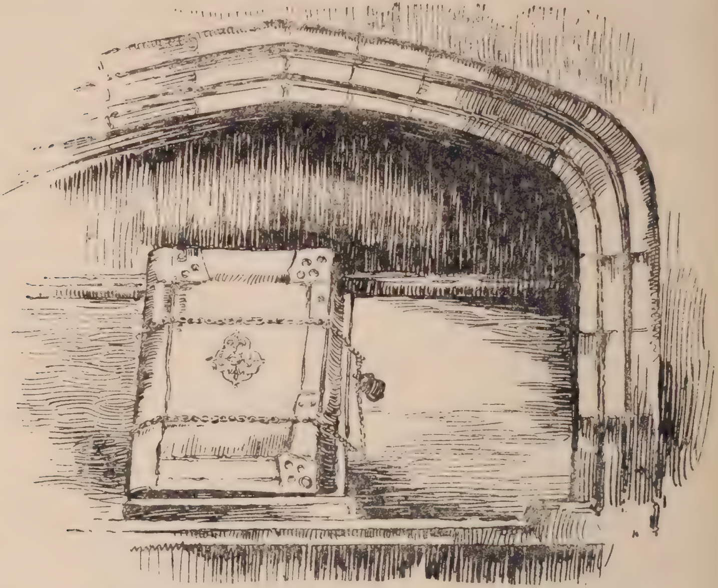
[1] "Pro cera continent, 815 lb., 56s. per cwt., £19 19s. 6d. Pro composicione eiusdem ceræ, 33s. 2½d."



The Chained Bible

But to revert to the main current of our history. Nicholas Wotton, the first dean of Canterbury, was a politician of ability and a diplomatist of real distinction, whose various embassies and errands of State are set forth in the epitaph, written by himself, on his monument in the Trinity Chapel. The employment of the clergy in public affairs was, of course, in those days no unusual thing, and a successful embassy was often the path to high ecclesiastical preferment; it was doubtless (for the King) a convenient way of paying for their services. What precisely were the religious sympathies of Wotton it would be difficult to say, but they were evidently qualified by the tact and flexibility he had shown in worldly matters; for the changes which were so difficult or dangerous to others never upset his balance or baffled his judgment. More and Fisher and Cromwell might go to the block, Cranmer and Ridley and Latimer to the stake; Mass might be said in Latin at the altar, or the Communion office in English at a table in the body of the church; Rome and Geneva might desperately dispute, and each find willing martyrs for her cause; high treason or heresy might and did steal upon men unawares, veiled in an Oath of Supremacy or an argument about Transubstantiation; but the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary, and Elizabeth all alike found Nicholas Wotton in possession of his two great deaneries of Canterbury and York and in the favour and employment of the Crown.[1]

These easy and elastic views, however, were not shared by the prebendaries and six-preachers, and Cranmer was sometimes beset by those of the old learning and sometimes by those of the new. About 1542 there was a formidable and most discreditable plot by three prebendaries and two six-preachers to indict the Archbishop for heresy and so procure his downfall. Thornden, who occupied the first stall and had received many favours from him, seems to have been the ringleader and to have secured the complicity of Dr. London, the notorious visitor of the monasteries, whom Archbishop Parker afterwards described as "a stout and filthy prebendary of Windsor,"[2] whose motive can only have been enmity to Cranmer. How the King set his foot on the conspiracy is told by Morice, the Archbishop's secretary. "The King, on an evening, rowing on the Thames in his barge, came to Lambeth bridge and there received my Lord Cranmer into his barge, saying unto him merrily, 'Ah, my chaplain! I have news for you.' And so pulled out of his sleeve a paper, wherein was contained his accusation, subscribed with the hands of certain prebendaries and justices of the shire. Whereunto my Lord Cranmer made answer and besought his Highness to appoint such commissioners as would effectually try out the truth of those articles. 'Marry,' said the King, 'so will I do, for I have such affiance in your fidelity that I will commit the examination hereof wholly to you and such as you will appoint.'"[1] On this incident Canon Scott Robertson in his monograph on Thornden comments as follows: "The wondrous and shameless plausibility of Thornden is evinced by the fact that within six months after this he obtained from Cranmer the rich benefice of Bishopsbourne. . . . So forgiving and generous was the spirit of Cranmer, and so seductive were the arts of Thornden, that upon the death of Richard Yngworth, bishop of Dover, in November 1544, the Archbishop nominated Thornden (with one other) to the Government as successor to his suffragan." We may add that so disloyal and ungrateful was the suffragan that in later years, on the accession of Queen Mary, he used his office as vice-dean without Cranmer's knowledge to revive those mediæval accompaniments of the mass which the English Prayer-book had banished, thus forcing the Archbishop by his disavowal of their legality into the proceedings which led to his death.

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[1] Another member of the cathedral body who weathered all the storms of these troublous times was "Father Newbury," one of the minor canons, who had been a monk in the priory and who continued to hold his minor canonry until the year 1564.

[2] Parker MSS. Corpus Christi Coll. Cambridge, No. cxxviii. p. 203, as quoted by Strype.

While the cathedral clergy were thus taking part in the history of their time, what of the cathedral itself and its treasures of mediæval art? The process of stripping and destruction, though intermittent, was never long in abeyance throughout the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI. There were other shrines to be demolished besides that of St. Thomas;

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[1] "Narratives of the Reformation," p. 252.

those of SS. Alphege and Dunstan occupied their place of honour in the choir, and the bones of sainted archbishops lay in their chantries in choir and nave. Monumental effigies of rare workmanship in stone or metal marked the resting-places of dead benefactors, and in some cases still attracted the occasional pilgrim. All these images and relics—" any shrine, covering of shrine, table, monument of miracles or other pilgrimages "—were by royal injunction swept away " so as there remain no memory of it." Then came the turn of the gold and silver plate and costly vestments.

On April 10, 1540, two years after the great spoiling of Becket's shrine, when twenty-six cartloads of precious things were taken from the church and convent, an inventory by Cranmer and five other commissioners showed that the church still possessed an enormous store of plate and vestments. This was " to be saufely kepte and ordered there untill the Kinge's highnes plesure be further declared." What this " plesure " was likely to be was indicated by the King's appropriation of another instalment of plate within a month of the inventory. In 1548, under Edward VI, much more was taken, including the famous silver table of Prior Chillenden " that stood upon their high aulter."

Besides all this authorised plundering there were the depredations of common thieves, especially during the interval between the suppression of the priory and the incorporation of the new governing body. Thus we read in the treasurer's accounts that one of the first acts of the chapter was to send its servants to London to make inquiries concerning " the chalices and other silver vessels which have been stolen from the church, and to give warning to the bedel of the gild of goldsmiths of the said theft." [1]

A later inventory, at the visitation of Dr. Parker in 1563, and summarised by Dr. Cox,[1] " shows that only five out of the eight chalices left in 1540 remained.

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[1] Treasurer's Accounts, 1541–42.

Censers of silver and silver-gilt cruets were still extant. Of the hundred white copes of 1540, fifteen were left; of the fifty green copes of the earlier date, eight; of the fifty red, seventeen; and of the thirty-seven blue copes, no fewer than twenty. Out of forty vestments or chasubles inventoried in 1540 only eight survived." The treasurer's accounts prove that, apart from royal depredations and private pilferings, the church's stores were also diminished by sales, sometimes, but nor always, for a specified purpose. Dean Wotton died in 1567, and it was elicited in an inquiry shortly afterwards that during his twenty-six years of office nine-tenths of the "ornaments" of the church had been disposed of for the benefit of the Chapter.[2] Two months after the installation of his successor, Godwin, further sales of vestments, plate, and jewels were made, owing to the impoverishment of the revenue, in order to pay the usual stipends of the minor officials of the cathedral. By an act of Chapter, 1569, "it is agreed that the vestments and other vestry-stuffs remayning in the vestry shall be viewed and sold, reserving some of the copes; and the money that shall arryse of the same to be bestowed in byeing of necessary armor." This was in response to a call for the equipment of troops (six light horsemen) against the rebellion headed by the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland. It is expressly stated that many of the articles sold are "now not lawful to be used in or about the service." To this category would belong the wakering or *sanctus* bell, which in 1585 was given, for more ordinary uses, to Eastbridge hospital.

The discipline and conduct of the cathedral clergy left much to be desired, owing partly perhaps to the almost complete non-residence of Dean Wotton. It is at this period that George Boleyn was a prebendary.

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[1] "Canterbury," London, 1905, p. 102.

[2] Cowper's "Lives of the Deans of Canterbury," p. 33.

He is believed to have been the nephew of Queen Anne Boleyn, and cousin of Queen Elizabeth, and was installed in 1566. He assaulted a brother prebendary, beat a lawyer in the Chapter-house, struck a six-preacher with his dagger, and threatened to pin the Dean to the wall with the same weapon. He was rewarded for this spirited conduct (or for the accident of his birth) with the deanery of Lichfield, which he held together with his canonry till his death in 1604.

The record of the fabric during these times is scarcely more cheerful reading than that of the "ornaments" and clergy. So much stained glass was broken in the attempt to suppress the memory of Becket that the survival of the "miracle" windows in the Trinity Chapel is surprising. There is an entry in the receiver's accounts for the year 1541 which runs as follows: "Pro reparacionibus ffenestrarum ecclie et transmutacione historie Th. Bekett ciii^{s} 11^{d}." On this the following in English may serve as an illuminating comment: "Oct. 1544. For mending the windowes and casements where the shryne was, and in our Lady chapell iiii^{s}."

In 1544 the palace of the Archbishop was destroyed by fire during preparations for the entertainment of the Viceroy of Sicily. Several persons perished, including Cranmer's brother-in-law, and the place lay in ruins till rebuilt by Archbishop Parker in 1565. In 1569 part of the deanery was burnt, and restored with stone taken from the monastic buildings—one of the many instances in which the old monasteries both of Christ Church and of St. Augustine's were used as quarries. It will interest many who in our own day share the hospitality of the deanery to read an Act of Chapter dated 1585: "That the Dean's great chamber be wainscoted at the church's charge, because it is the only place within this church [precincts] fit for the entertainment of any noble personage that shall resort thither for any purpose."

The chief building operation of the new foundation (1541–47) compares miserably enough with the great work of pre-Reformation days. It was the fashioning out of the conventual buildings of houses for the Dean, the twelve prebendaries, and the minor canons, and was at least as much a work of destruction as of construction. For a full account of this the reader must consult the minute and lengthy Distribution Document printed by Willis in *Archæologia Cantiana*, vol. vii. p. 192. But Somner's notes give information, which must not here be omitted, as to the fate of some of the monastic buildings. By Act of Chapter (1547) much of the great dormitory was demolished to provide materials for housing the minor canons, the lead being distributed among the dean and prebendaries; the Frater and convent kitchen with "other superfluous houses there" were pulled down to erect dwellings for two prebendaries, one of whom was to "convey and carry away the material of the same Frater"; the long hall of the infirmary was ordered in 1545 "to be pulled down with speed," but the southern arcade was spared to form part of a minor canon's house, and the chapel was incorporated with the house allotted to Dr. Thornden (of acquisitive memory), who also obtained "ye vault called Bishop Beckett's tombe under our Ladies chapell" to serve as a wood cellar. This remarkable use of a portion of the cathedral crypt lasted till nearly the middle of the nineteenth century. In 1866 the houses were cleared away and the arcade of the infirmary chapel and hall were restored to view.

Stone relates that in the year 1468 Archbishop Bourchier, having said mass in the choir, adjourned to the chapter-house for the sermon, which was preached by William Sellinge, afterwards Prior, on Judges i.[1] This occasional pre-Reformation custom became a settled use so early in the new order

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[1] Stone's "Chronicle," ed. M. R. James, *ut supra*, p. 105.

The Deanery

of things that by 1544 the chapter-house had been fitted up with a pulpit, pews, and galleries. There was a gallery at the west end and another along the north side; at the eastern end of the latter (*i.e.* in the north-eastern corner of the building) was an enclosure, with latticed casements and bearing the royal arms, for the accommodation of royalty. For many years the congregation adjourned after prayers in the choir to hear the preacher in the "Sermon-house"; but the confusion and inconvenience of this migration caused Archbishop Laud to forbid the practice, with what result we shall see later. A covered way was built between a door in the south wall of the Sermon-house and another in the north wall of the Lady Chapel (deans' Chapel), which was used as a vestry to which the preacher usually retired for thought twenty minutes before his discourse. Communication was also established between the royal closet and a doorway still existing (but now opening on a cupboard) in the passage from the library to the south-east transept.

It has already been told how, on the accession of Queen Mary, the wily Thornden, as vice-Dean, secured his own safety and hastened the downfall of his patron and benefactor by promptly celebrating mass with the old rites in the cathedral. The tragedy of Cranmer's last days does not belong to these pages, but the coming of Cardinal Pole, the visits of Philip and of Mary, and the stir of religious reaction are told so tersely and effectively in the treasurer's accounts that we cannot do better than quote a few items, and leave the rest to the reader's imagination. The depleted ecclesiastical stores were refurnished with vestments (chasubles), tunicles, albes, altar-cloths, not less than three "paires of organs," chalices, patens, a "paxe and a sacaryng bell," "crewets," a holy-water "stopp" and a sprinkler for the same, "antyphonars," "messalls" (missals), "imnalls" (hymnals), processionals, pontificals, "corporas cloths," "saltars" (psalters), "legends," "sonnges," the story of St. Thomas with music newly "prycked," an "antem of our Ladye," and many another accessory of the old forms of service. There was much mending of books and of the "great organ" with sheepskin and calfskin galore. The following items should be quoted entire:

Paid to Thomas Byskop for making of the rood, with Mary and John and the crosse, vil xiii^{s} iiij^{d}.

To a turnar for turning of ye ring for ye iiij Evangelists for ye crosse.

To Wm. Johnson for painting and gilding of ye Roode, Mary and John, and all ye furniture, viil xiii^{s} iiij^{d}.

To Thos. Byskop for an image of our Ladye for our Ladye chappell, xv^{s}.

To certaine laborers carying of the crosse uppe to ye crowne of ye church to be gilded and painted, xii^{d}.

To xii laborers ij days abowt ye reringe of ye crosse w^{t} all ye furniture and pulling at the wrensh at vi^{d} ye pece a day, xii^{s}.

To a laborer ii daies making cleane of the vauts of the north syde of the chapter house and carying away of the rubbish against my lord Cardinall's cumyng, xii^{d}.

To another laborer ij days more carying of rubbish from ye skule house dore, Mr. Deane's dore and Mr. Sellenger's against the King's Maj^{ies} cumyng, xii^{d}.

To ij laborers for making cleane of the Lybrary and the tommes of the king and black prince against the Quene's his Maj^{ies} cumyng, xvi^{d}.

Presents and expences extraordinary—Imprimis to the Quene's his Maj^{y} at her cumyng to Cant^{y} for a present, x^{li}.

For a purse of crymson velvett w^{t} gold and lase and red silk and makyng of the same, xiii^{s} vi^{d}.

For iiij boxes of suckett and marmelad and iiij gallons of wine given to the Dewk of Northfowk, the Erle of Arundel, the Erle of Westmoreland and dyvers other lords, the iiijth day of March, cumyng w^{h} the King's Maj^{y}, xvi^{s} vii^{d}.

Given to the duches of Lorren and the duches of Parmye per capit the xxiii March, 1557, xxiiij^{s}.

For painting of the crusyfix and xii apostles in the Cardinall's chappell, iii^{s} iiij^{d}.

The foregoing list adumbrates briefly but perhaps sufficiently the advent of the new Primate, the visits of royalty and its expectation of "rewards," the appreciation by the nobility of "suckett and marmelad," and the expense of receiving persons of distinction. The last item reminds us that Cardinal Pole fitted up and adorned the almonry chapel (known for some years afterwards as the Cardinal's Chapel) for his private use. The palace and its chapel were, it will be remembered, in ruins. There is reason to believe that Pole made many gifts to his church; among them a jewelled "mytre of silver and gylte," and "a Cambricke cloth edged with golde to take the Mytre off tharchbusshopp's heade." A few dark hints occur in the accounts and registers of the intolerance which disgraced Mary's reign, such as the expense of conveying hither or thither *convicti*—*i.e.* condemned heretics. Between 1553 and 1558 ten men and three women were expelled from St. Nicholas's Hospital, Harbledown, and ten women from St. John's, Northgate, apparently on account of their Protestantism. On the other hand, the Queen wrote to the Dean and Chapter in 1555 to secure the due payment of the pensions of "the late religious persons, men and women and chantry priests." Somner tells us that in 1553 six of the prebendaries were deprived on the charge of being married priests. Three only consented to appear before the Commission, one being Cranmer's brother, the Archdeacon of Canterbury. These manfully maintained that their marriages were lawful, and that they would not put away their wives. Dean Wotton, fortunately for himself, had never taken to himself a spouse.

The deaths of Queen Mary and Cardinal Pole within a few hours of each other in the autumn of 1558 were a dramatic ending to the Roman reaction. Pole was buried in his cathedral church under a plain tomb placed against the north wall of the corona. On the wall above was painted his armorial coat of many quarterings, and a representation of St. Christopher. Both have long since disappeared, but a few years since the late Cardinal Vaughan received permission from the Dean and Chapter to set up over the tomb a panel emblazoned with the Pole arms.

With the accession of Queen Elizabeth to the throne and of Matthew Parker to the primacy there was an instant reversion to the principles of the Reformation. Five of the prebendaries refused to take the Oath of Supremacy, even in the modified form in which it was now tendered, and were deprived of their stalls; and the numerous adjuncts of divine worship acquired at so much cost during the Marian reaction were speedily cleared away. The see of Canterbury had become so much impoverished since the days of Warham that Parker was compelled to apply to the Queen for a loan in order to enable him to take possession. Elizabeth, who was not renowned for liberality, seems on this occasion to have acted generously, for she granted the Archbishop a sum equal to £12,000 of our money. During the rebuilding of his ruined palace the Primate lived in retirement in his modest manor-house at Bekesbourne; but though of quiet and simple habits, Parker did not shrink from the state befitting his position when occasion required. Thus, in 1563, when he came to Canterbury for his metropolitical visitation, he came with a retinue of forty horsemen. One of the answers made by the Dean and Chapter to Parker's articles of inquiry at this visitation is worth quoting for the light it throws upon the usages of the Church at a time when the "Elizabethan settlement" was still in the making. The answer relates to the way in which divine service was celebrated in the cathedral, and is as follows:

> The Common Prayer daily throughout the year, though there be no Communion, is sung at the Communion Table standing north and south, where the high Altar did stand; the minister when there is no Communion useth a surplice only, standing on the east side of the Table with his face to the people. The Holy Communion is ministered ordinarily the first Sunday of every month throughout the year; at what time the Table is set east and west. The priest which ministereth, the Pystoler, and Gospeler at that time wear copes." [1]

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[1] Corpus Christi Coll. Cambs. MS. cxxii., quoted in Strype's "Parker," i. 183.

Two years later, when the repairs to the palace were completed and the revenues of the see had somewhat righted themselves, Archbishop Parker gave a series of splendid entertainments to the whole countryside. The only event of this kind which need claim our attention is the reception of the Queen in 1573, when she stayed for a fortnight at St. Augustine's Abbey, which Henry VIII had appropriated as a royal residence. On September 3 she rode on horseback to the west door of the cathedral, was received by the Archbishop, two bishops, the Chapter and choir, all kneeling, was escorted under a canopy to a chair in the presbytery (curiously called " the traverse "), and attended divine service, afterwards returning on foot to St. Augustine's through the cheering crowds. On September 7—her fortieth birthday—at a banquet in her honour in the great hall of the Archbishop's palace, Elizabeth sat under a canopy of cloth of gold in an ancient marble chair (*in veteri quadam marmorea cathedra*)—which looks as though the ancient chair of St. Augustine had been brought from the church. In the profuse distribution of customary " gifts and rewards " she graciously received from her host a magnificent salt-cellar filled with gold pieces and bearing her portrait and the royal arms cut in agate. Unfortunately for the Primate, the Queen greatly admired his favourite horse, which he accordingly transferred to the royal stables. It is said that these entertainments and " rewards " cost the Archbishop £2000, or at the present value of money nearly £20,000.

The Chapter Act Books from the time of the new foundation to the reign of Charles I are either altogether missing or so badly damaged by fire that only an imperfect record of this period is available. Fragmentary notices, however, of the sale of plate and " vestry stuff " suggest the change from Pole to Parker in the law and use of the Church; while the purchase of armour and the use of the chamber above

St. Michael's Chapel as an armoury remind us of an age of threatened rebellion and invasions.

From the scanty information which can be gleaned from the Act Books concerning the conduct of divine worship during this period we gather that the one statutable sermon on Sunday, and the readings in divinity on Wednesday and Friday, were often lacking. In 1620 the dean, canons, and preachers by a self-denying ordinance undertook to keep up a Sunday afternoon sermon among themselves, "except when some able preacher could be found to take their place." But this was apparently found too heavy a burden, for six years later it was arranged that Mr. Robert Procter, a Fellow of Peterhouse, Cambridge, should preach a "catecheticall" sermon on Sunday afternoons, and that the dean should give the said preacher hospitality, each prebendary forty shillings, and each preacher ten shillings towards his stipend.

It is curious to note that at this period the subordinate offices of gate porter and vesturer were considered to be such desirable pieces of patronage that Dean Godwin appointed his son to the former office; and the latter was enjoyed by two sons of Dean Rogers. The duties were, of course, handed over to deputies—often ill-paid—with the result that they were ill performed. In order to illustrate the inconvenience caused by a want of proper supervision of the fabric by the subordinate officers of the church we will quote the following order of Chapter made in the early years of the seventeenth century:

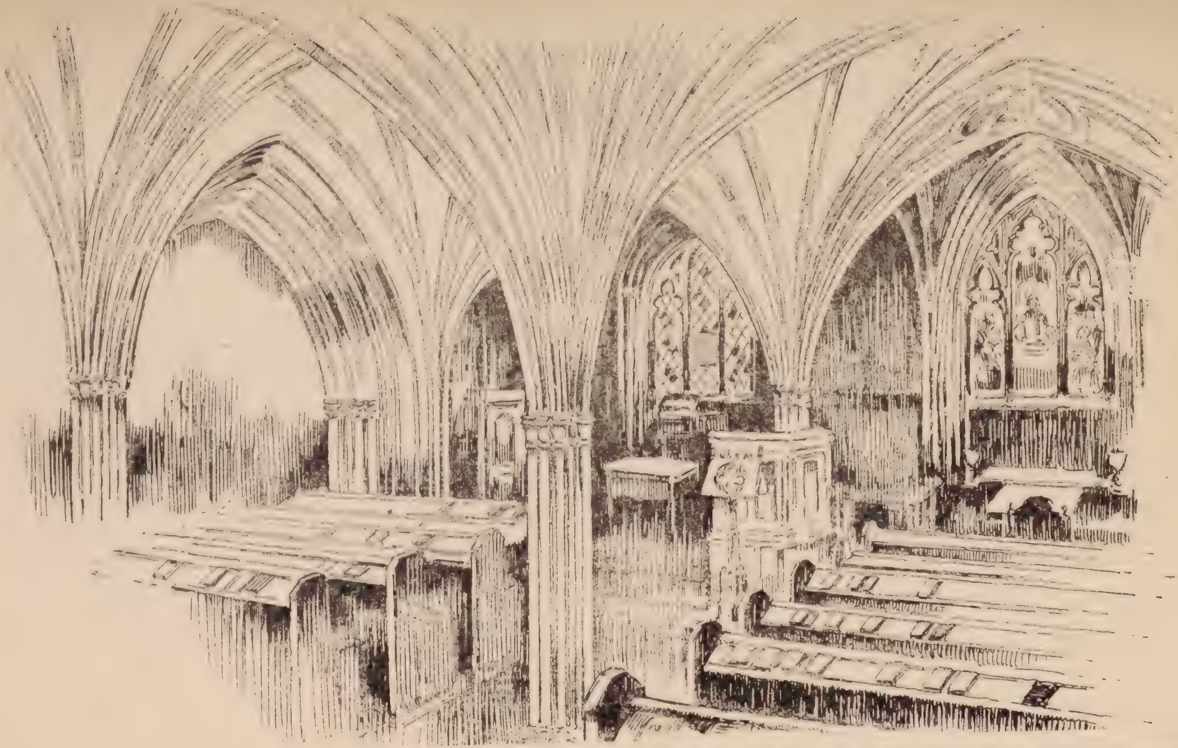
> Whereas besides ye many inconveniences which of long we have suffered in ye Quire for want of attendance of officers, there being none to keep out dogs, to still rude boys playing and running about in ye tyme of divine service, and besydes the ordinary concourse of prentices and other rude people in our courts, cloysters, and churchyard upon Sundays and holy days very scandalous in many respects and much prejudiciall to our stately church windows and ye like. There have happened of late some extraordinary accidents, as the breaking up of a

cupboard and one of the petty-canons' gowns stolen out of it. The cutting away of a carpet nayled on ye Table of ye Dean's chappell. The blemishing of some of our Tombes by breaking off some parts. The breaking off of iron bars from our grates, &c. Our will is that henceforth all those who hold patents for the offices of subsacrists, vergerers, porters, or bellringers do perform their duties in person, or else allow a sufficient stipend to their substitutes.

The Elizabethan period, however, was not wholly lacking in events which draw the annals of Christ Church into the current of contemporary public life. In 1568 Odet de Coligny, Cardinal Chatillon, who shared the Huguenot sympathies of his brother the admiral, fled to England, where he probably tried to enlist the help of the Queen. At Canterbury he received a warm welcome from the Dean and Chapter, and was allotted quarters in the old guest-house, known as Master Omer's. His death, which occurred suddenly in 1571 (perhaps not at Canterbury, as is sometimes stated, but at Nonsuch, in Surrey), is said to have been due to poison, administered by one of his servants in an apple. His body was brought to Canterbury, but in expectation of its subsequent removal to France the coffin was laid on the floor of the Trinity Chapel, at the foot of Courtenay's monument, and merely bricked over. The religious wars on the Continent left no leisure to celebrate the obsequies of friends dying in far-off places; hence the cardinal's bones have been left without inscription in their rough brick mound to this day.

It may be that the visit to Canterbury and the sudden and sinister death in this country of the brother of the great Coligny stimulated interest in the cause he represented; for in 1575 we find the first mention in the Chapter Act Book of the Protestant refugees: "Yt ys agreed the Walloon strangers shall be licensed as much as in us the dean and chapter lyeth to have the use of their comen prayer and sermons in the parish church of St. Elphies

[St. Alphege's] in Canterbury, in such sort and in such tyme as the parishioners there be not hyndered or disturbed of their comen prayer." Perhaps this joint use of St. Alphege's Church was not found practicable, for at about this time the strangers effected a lodgment in the crypt of the cathedral. There is a tradition that this was granted to them by Queen Elizabeth in 1568; but no documentary evidence is forthcoming, possibly because the Privy Council records from 1567 to 1570 are lost. Whether by royal grant or by permission of the dean and chapter, French Protestants have worshipped in the crypt from about 1575; the privilege was confirmed to them by Order in Council in 1662, and has not since been seriously questioned. There was in Canterbury as early as 1548 a congregation of foreign Protestants, who found it advisable to disperse at the accession of Queen Mary. About 1575 came a hundred families of Walloons, or French-speaking inhabitants of the Netherlands, flying from the cruelties of the Duke of Alva. They were accorded the use of Ernulph's or the western part of the crypt, and were never in possession of the lofty eastern crypt of English William; this, it will be remembered, was walled off as the cellar of the first prebendary. There is no foundation for the statement sometimes made that part of the crypt was used by the Walloons as a workshop, since the light would have been quite insufficient for weaving or embroidery; moreover, no tools or utensils for any handicraft were found in the thick layer of gravel and *débris* removed a few years ago when the crypt was restored. But the whole area of Ernulph's crypt would not have been too great for the worship of a community which in the seventeenth century numbered from two to three thousand souls and furnished a thousand communicants. During the latter part of the seventeenth century the Walloons were joined by many Huguenot refugees, who had fled from



The French Church in the "Black Prince's" Chantry

persecution in France, especially after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685. This skilful and industrious community then reached its highest point in numbers and prosperity, manufacturing woollen fabrics, ribbons, laces, and the most costly figured and brocaded silks. If their besetting vice, at any rate among the Walloons, was drink, their redeeming virtue was their sturdy faithfulness to their religion. Archbishop Laud in vain tried to make them conform; they persevered in Presbyterian ways, though some of their ministers have been episcopally ordained, and though from 1789 to 1876 they used a French version of the Prayer-book. At about this latter date an inquiry by the Charity Commissioners elicited from Archbishop Tait a defence of the privileges of the Refugee Church on the ground of its historical significance as a monument of the Reformation. During the nineteenth century it shrank so much in numbers that the "strangers" who once employed two thousand looms are now represented by a mere handful. In 1895 the congregation moved into the Black Prince's chantry, where perhaps a solitary worshipper may sometimes dream of the Sundays of two hundred years ago when his forefathers occupied seven bays of Ernulf's crypt. Many and sad are the memories of ecclesiastical intolerance; here is at least one testimony that Christian sympathies and friendly hearts have prevailed over differences in doctrine and in race.

W. D.

APPENDIX

Names of the members of the new foundation, with their stipends, from the treasurers' accounts of 1542–3:

To the Deane and Prebendaries

First Maister Deane, ccc^{li}
To Mr. Doctor Thornden, xl^{li}
To Mr. Seynt leger, xl^{li}

To Mr. Doctor Champyon, xxx^{li} xl^{li}
To Mr. Goldsonne, x^{li}
To Mr. Parkehurst, xl^{li}
To Mr. Doctor Rvdley, xl^{li}
To Mr. Menys, xl^{li}
To Mr. Glasyer, xl^{li}
To Mr. Hunte, xl^{li}
To Mr. Gardener, xl^{li}
To Mr. Myllys, xl^{li}
To Mr. Danyell, xl^{li}
To Mr. Baptist, xl^{li}
Sm^{a}, vii^{c} iiij^{li}

To ye Preachers, viz.

To Mr. Searles, xxiiij^{li} ij^{s} ij^{d}
To Mr. Doctor Rydley, xxiij^{li} ii^{s} ij^{d}
Maister Drumme, xxiiij^{li} ii^{s} ii^{d}
Mr. Shether, xxiiij^{li} ii^{s} ii^{d}
Mr. Scorye, xxiiij^{li} ii^{s} ii^{d}
Mr. Broke, xxiiij^{li} ii^{s} ii^{d}
Sma cxliiij^{li}

To the Pety-Canons, viz.

Mr. Winchepe, x^{li}
Mr. Newberry, x^{li}
Mr. Elphye, *vel vicem gerens*, x^{li}
Mr. Lychefeld, x^{li}
Mr. Sarysbirye, x^{li}
Mr. Charte, x^{li}
Mr. Austen, x^{li}
Mr. Ickeham, x^{li}
Mr. Otforde, x^{li}
Mr. Boulser, x^{li}
Mr. Anselme, x^{li}
Mr. Awdoen, x^{li}
Mr. Hawke, x^{li}
Mr. Copton and leder (*sic*), x^{li}
Sm^{a} cxl^{l}

To Mr. Selbye, M of the Choristers, xl^{li}
To him for the Choristers, xxxiij^{li} vj^{s} viij^{d}
Sm xliij^{li} vij^{s} viij^{d}

To ye Vycars, viz.

Thomas Wodd, viiij^{li}
John Marden, viij^{li}
Willyam Lee, viij^{li}
Henry Turner, viij^{li}
Wyllyam Swifte, viij^{li}
John Jenks, viij^{li}
Thomas Bredkyrke, viij^{li}
Robert Colman, viij^{li}
John Kydder, viij^{li}
Thomas Bull, viij^{li}
Rycharde Lewcome, viij^{li}
John Tropham and James Cancellor, viij^{li}
Sm^{a} iiij xvi^{li}
To Mr. Twyne, scholemaister, xx^{li}
To Mr. Wells, usher, x^{li}
Sm^{a} xxx^{li}

Then follows a list of the fifty scholars who received £4 a-piece, and lists of the scholars studying at the church's charges at Oxford and Cambridge. Of these there were twelve at each University ; those at Oxford received in gross £100, and those at Cambridge £78. (These lists are printed in the History of the King's School, Canterbury, *by Woodruff and Cape, London*, 1908.)

To the Cater, John Leysted, vi^{li} xiij^{s} iiij^{d}
To the Butlers Rychard Chammer }
William Stephens } xii^{li}
To the Sacristans—
Thomas Callowe }
Wyllyam Atwell } xiij^{li} vi^{s} viij^{d}
To the Cooks—
Roger Mantell }
William Balsar } xii^{li}

To the Belryngars—
Rauf Albryght, vi^{li}
John Clerke, vi^{li}
Robert Absolom, vi^{li}
Eustace Coleman, vi^{li}
John Burton, vi^{li}
Robert Danyell, vi^{li}

To the Porters—
Maister Kyllygreue
Thomas Johnson } viij^{li} vj viij

To the Horsekeepers—
William Foster, xl^{li}
George Maycote, xxvj^{li} viij^{s}
Thomas Calcote, xxvj^{li} viij^{s}
John Corneford, v^{li}
Sm^{a} ciii^{li}

Pro Decimis, &c.
Dño Regi, cccviij^{li} xv^{s} vij^{d}
Pro Elemosina eiusdem, c^{li}
Senescallo ecclesie, x^{li}
Receptori ecclesie, xx^{li}
Auditori ecclesie, x^{li}
M^{ro} Ryche, senescallo in Essex, iij^{li} vi^{s} viij^{d}
Subsenescallo ibidem, xl^{li}
Senescallo in Surreia, iij^{li} xiij^{s} iiij^{d}
Procurac' Archidiacono Cant. xx^{li}

To ij petycanons assigned by the Deane and chapter to note the absentes in the queyre, xl^{s}

Penciones—
Eastry, v^{li} vj^{s} viij^{d}
Monketon, xii^{li} xx^{d}
Lytleborn
Preston iuxta Wyngham
Sheldwide } xx^{s}

Sm^{a} huius libri, mmcclxxiij^{li} iij^{s} xj^{d}

CHAPTER XIV

FROM LAUD TO THE RESTORATION

1633–1660

The translation of William Laud from London to Canterbury is an important waymark in the history of the Church of England; it may also be taken as a fresh starting-point in the history of the cathedral church of Canterbury. When Laud succeeded to the primacy in 1633 the Church generally and the diocese of Canterbury in particular were suffering from the effects of Abbot's apathetic and inefficient rule. In the parish churches there was much slovenliness and disorder, and even in the cathedral a comely face of external worship was scarcely preserved. Archbishop Laud perceived perhaps more clearly than any of his predecessors since the Reformation the need of a well-ordered and decent ceremonial for a great historical church, and he came to Canterbury firmly resolved to restore to the Church of England her heritage in this respect. He brought to the task zeal, courage, and learning, but this excellent equipment was more than counterbalanced by defects of temper and the entire absence of tact. So that, to quote the words of one of his most sympathetic biographers, "there has seldom lived a man who contrived that his good should be more virulently spoken of."

With characteristic courage Laud determined to begin his reforms at the top, and with this object he gave notice almost immediately after his enthronisation of his intention to visit his cathedral church in the following spring. The Dean and Chapter lost no time in setting their house in order ; indeed, they seem to have done everything they could to anticipate the wishes of their visitor. In the choir a new "Communion table" was set up, which was apparently mounted upon a wooden platform approached by steps—an arrangement which gave especial offence to the Puritans and actually formed one of the specific charges made against Laud at his trial.[1] A new carpet or cloth of purple velvet edged with a deep band of gold lace costing £36 7s. was purchased for the altar, behind which a rich hanging of needlework, called the "Glory Cloth," was suspended. Richard Culmer, the iconoclastic Puritan, has given us a particular description of this "most idolatrous costly Glory Cloth or Back Cloth," as he calls it. "It was made," he says, "of very rich embroidery of gold and silver, the name Jehovah on the top in gold upon a cloth of silver, and below it a semicircle of gold, and from thence glorious rays, and clouds, and gleams, and points of rays direct and waved stream downwards upon the altar."[2]

Further ornaments for the altar acquired at the same time were a pair of candlesticks, a basin for the ablutions of the priest (both doubtless of silver, since they cost £73 6s.), and a Bible and Prayer-book, both with silver-gilt covers.[3]

Neale in his "History of the Puritans"[4] says that the altar of Canterbury Cathedral "was furnished according to Bishop Andrewes' model," and proceeds to give a list of the vessels and ornaments used in the bishop's private chapel; but the Canterbury inventory of 1634 makes no mention of several of the articles mentioned by Neale, so that his account of what was in use at Canterbury seems to be untrustworthy. The new ornaments were in use on Christmas Day of the same year, and attracted some attention, for an alderman of the city wrote on a flyleaf of his Bible the following memorandum: "Christ-tide 1633 was the first day of the high altar with candlesticks on it and candles in them, and other dressings very brave in Christ Church, Canterbury."[1]

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[1] "To George Lancelot, joyner, for a Communion table of degrees, 30^{s}." Treasurer's Accounts.

[2] "Cathedrall Newes from Canterbury" (London, 1644), p. 292.

[3] "Pro duobus candelabris et malluvia pro tabula sacre Eucharistie, lxxiii^{li} vi^{s}. Pro duobus cerariis pro candelabris, ii^{s} vi^{d}. Pro nova biblia et libro communium precum pro Eucharistia, xxxvi^{s}. Pro argento celato pro eisdem libris, x^{li} iiij^{s}." Treasurer's Accounts, 1633.

[4] Vol. ii. p. 223.

Laud no doubt marked with satisfaction the "brave dressings" of the altar when he came to Canterbury in the following spring, but he seems to have had no conception of the intensely Puritan spirit rampant throughout his diocese, to which his ritual reforms were as a red rag to a bull.

The growth of Puritanism in Kent was due partly to the geographical position of the county. Popish recusants had soon discovered that Kent was far too much under the eye of a rigid and inquisitorial Government to make it a desirable place of residence; while, on the other hand, there had been a constant influx of foreign Protestants, bringing with them the polity and theology of the Continental Reformers. Hence it was in his own diocese and in his own cathedral city that the Archbishop met the bitterest opposition.

The articles of inquiry issued by Laud for his visitation, and the answers of the Dean and Chapter (to which the Archbishop has in some cases added an autograph note), are preserved amongst the cathedral archives, and one or two are worth quoting for the light they throw upon the usages of the times. Thus, to the Archbishop's inquiry as to the number of sermons preached in the cathedral the Dean and Chapter replied that one sermon was preached in the cathedral on every Sunday and holy day and two on the feasts of the Nativity, Easter, and Pentecost, "besides divers extraordinaries as his sacred Majesties inauguration, the Rogation, the Sessions, and the fifth of November." To an inquiry as to the condition of the precincts, &c., the Dean and Chapter made answer: "The churchyard (commonly so reputed) is profaned, as we conceive, by four fairs yearly there kept time out of mind, by sinks, by annoyance of a stable, by divers other buildings in and about the same; the fair and houses being out at lease." In the margin Laud wrote: "Let me have inquiry and satisfaction concerning fairs, sinks, and stables."

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[1] "Cathedrall Newes," *ut supra.*

A more serious irregularity which came to light in an answer to a question relating to the State prayers was the occasional omission of the prayer for the Church Militant. The Chapter replied: "We have been used to pray for the King's Majesty, the Queen, the Prince and the Royal progeny . . . save only that we have sometimes omitted to praise God for all those who are departed out of this life in the faith of Christ, which we shall take care hereafter to be observed." To which Laud added tersely: "Let ye canon be observed."

A question about the letting of prebendal houses to laymen elicited the fact that this was a common practice. Laud opposed it on the ground that the presence of lay people within the precincts was detrimental to the secluded collegiate life for which the Statutes made provision, and even went the length of obtaining an Order in Council forbidding the letting or lending of a prebendal house to any person who was not a member of the church.

The Dean and Chapter, however, pointed out to the Archbishop that they were very heavily burdened by taxation, especially by the imposition of the obnoxious "ship-money," and that it was a very convenient thing to be able "to lay part of ye burdens upon such of ye laity as dwell among us, who when they are persons of quality bear a considerable part." They also pleaded for consideration on the ground that they had, in deference to the Archbishop's wishes, already relinquished the custom of granting leases for lives, and had further voluntarily given up the five pounds a year which each prebendary had hitherto enjoyed towards the repair of his house. Whether the order was modified or not we do not know, but the practice was at any rate revived after the Restoration, as also was the more pernicious one of granting leases for lives.

At the conclusion of his visitation the Archbishop asked to be supplied with a copy of the statutes in order that he might amend them. This appears to have caused some apprehensions, for the Dean and Chapter thought it prudent to offer his Grace the sum of fifty pounds *pro paterna benevolentia.* Though to modern eyes the gift looks suspiciously like a bribe, it was quite in accordance with the practice of the times, and Laud doubtless accepted it without any qualms of conscience.

A copy of the revised statutes was received in 1637. The alterations and additions for which Laud was responsible, and for which he obtained the King's licence, were neither many nor important. Several related to the King's scholars and their masters; others sanctioned usages which had long been prevalent, but which hitherto had lacked statutable authority—*e.g.* the office of epistoler and gospeller had long been obsolete, and the stipend allotted to these officers by the statutes had for some years been paid to four instrumentalists whose duty it was "to support with cornets and sackbuts the melody in the choir." Accordingly two corneteers and two sackbutters now became statutable officers.

Into the chapter relating to the conduct of divine service (No. 34) Laud introduced a clause which gave great offence to the Puritan party, although as a matter of fact it merely confirmed a custom already in use. The clause refers to bowing towards the altar on entering the choir, and the full text is as follows: "Our will is that each minister of whatever rank he may be on entering the choir shall adore the Divine Majesty by humbly bowing towards the altar, and then make their due reverence to the Dean." This was afterwards used as evidence of the Romish proclivities of Laud. But in his defence Dr. Blechynden, one of the prebendaries, deposed that the practice was in vogue before the new statutes were received, and that the custom had prevailed ever since his own installation, which took place "above ten years ago."[1]

A notable addition to the fittings of the church was the handsome marble font, which still retains its place in the nave. This was a gift from Dr. John Warner, one of the prebendaries, and afterwards Bishop of Rochester. Previous to its erection the cathedral church seems to have had no fixed font, the Elizabethan inventories merely mentioning "a Bason of brasse for Christinynge with a foot of Iron." In pre-Reformation times, however, the church certainly possessed a font, for John Stone mentions the baptism in the nave of the son of John Frankleyn, the prior's butler, in 1443.[2] And three years later a font with a silver bowl was purchased from a London goldsmith at a cost of £14.[3] It would seem that this silver font was sent up to London for use at royal baptisms. What happened to it after the suppression of the monastery is not certainly known, but it was probably one of the things upon which Henry VIII laid his sacrilegious hands, for in a list of the King's jewels the following item occurs: "A fonte chased

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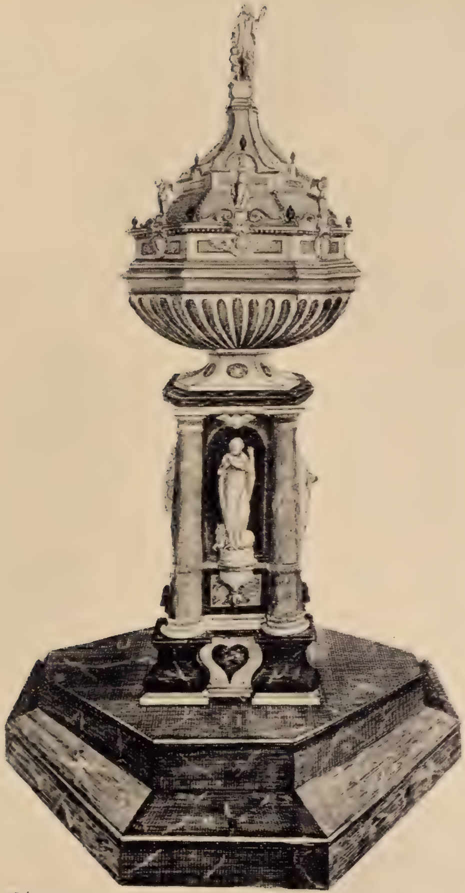
[1] "Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology," vol. v. pt. ii.

[2] Stone's "Chronicle," *ut supra*, p. 31.

[3] "Johi Orewell in plena solutione facture pelvis ffontalis, xiiij^{li}. Expens', Johis Orewell venient' London pro pelve ffontal, x^{s}." *Prior's Day Book*, 1447.



This Font was {giuen / consecrated} by the right reverend father in God, John, L. Bishop of {Rochester / Oxford} the present yeare 1639.

THE FONT, 1639

with men, beastes, and fowles, half gilte, with a cover gilte, poiz together cciiij oz." Nevertheless, as late as 1620 there was an opinion abroad that the silver font was still at Canterbury, for in the above year Archbishop Abbot wrote to his Chapter asking them "to make search for a font of silver wherein the King's children of ancient time have been christened, and that if there be any such thing in your custody you should with all speed send it up safely by messenger, . . . and if you have no such thing, you are to certify me speedily what you find in any records or register hath been done therewithal or how your predecessors parted with it."[1] The reply of the Chapter is not extant, but from the absence of any such article from the Elizabethan inventories it is clear that the silver font was no longer in the possession of the dean and chapter.

Less than ten years after its erection Dr. Warner's font was demolished by the Puritans, but its component parts were recovered by William Somner, who concealed them until the restoration of the monarchy, when the fragments were brought out of hiding and re-erected in the cathedral, again at the cost of the donor. It is pleasant to add that when all was complete the first child to be baptized in the restored font was the infant son of the man by whose loving care its fragments had been preserved throughout the troublous times.[2]

But to revert to the general history of the times. A singularly ill-judged attempt by Laud to enforce conformity upon the Walloon and French community, which for a number of years had possessed prescriptive rights of conducting a Presbyterian form of service in the crypt of the cathedral, greatly intensified his unpopularity at this juncture, and after exasperating public feeling he was eventually compelled to relinquish the attempt. The fall of one of the pinnacles of the "Bell-Harry" tower (upon the metal flag of which the Dean and Chapter had lately caused the Archbishop's arms to be emblazoned) was naturally looked upon by the Puritans as a portent of the speedy downfall of the "proud prelate." Culmer, who recites the circumstance with much glee, says that the Dean and Chapter, elated by a report (which turned out to be false) that the Scots had accepted the English Prayer-book, expressed their satisfaction by setting upon the four pinnacles of the tower "four great iron fanes or flags, on which the coat-arms of the King, Prince, and Church were severally gilded and painted." On Holy Innocents' Day 1639 the pinnacle which bore the Archbishop's arms was blown down, and in its fall it demolished part of the cloister roof, opposite to the door leading to the Martyrdom transept. So violent was the impact that it burst through the lead, planks, timbers, and stone arch of the cloister "as if it had been done with cannon-shot." Upon the groining of the roof where the pinnacle fell was a boss bearing the arms of the see of Canterbury. "Thus," says Culmer, "the arms of the present Archbishop of Canterbury break down the armes of the Archbishoprick or See of Canterbury."[1] In the following year (1640) a very small change in the manner of conducting the cathedral service was sufficient to cause the pent-up storm of puritanical disaffection to break out. For some years past it had been the practice on sermon days for the congregation to adjourn to the chapter-house after prayers in the choir for the purpose of listening to the preacher. Laud disliked the unseemly rush for good places which occurred when the pulpit was to be occupied by an eloquent divine, and in accordance with his wishes the custom was discontinued. On the other hand, the Puritan party favoured the "Sermon-house," on the ground that it was both warmer and more commodious than the choir, where, moreover, the sermon was "hedged in by the cathedral ceremonious altar service," which they abominated. On the feast of the Epiphany divine service was interrupted by "ye voice of one crying audibly, 'This is idolatry,'" and on the Sunday following when prayer should have been concluded at the altar the canons were "mutinously disturbed by a continuance of singing of psalms and by words in the throng, 'Down with the altar! Down with the altar!'" The above words are quoted from a memorandum preserved amongst the cathedral archives to which seven of the canons set their names. The memorandum records that the prebendaries recognised that the cause of the disturbance was "the discontent of the people at the removing of ye Sermon from our Chapter-house to the Quire," and that they therefore decided to revert to the former practice for the sake of peace and quietness. Dean Bargrave was absent from home at the time, but on hearing what the chapter had done he wrote: "The times are too much indisposed to give us any speedy remedy, wherefore I very well approve of your removing the sermons into the chapter-house."

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[1] The letter is preserved amongst the cathedral archives.

[2] "1663, August 16. Frances [*sic*], ye son of Mr. William Somner, auditor of this church, and Barbary, his wife." "Registers of Canterbury Cathedral."

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[1] "Cathedrall Newes" *ut supra.* The extent of the damage may still be traced by the absence of heraldic shields at the east end of the south alley of the cloister.

But the country was now on the verge of civil war, and it would appear that the cathedral authorities, foreseeing the coming struggle between King and Parliament, were actually prepared to turn the church into a fortress; for they purchased a barrel of gunpowder, arms, and ammunition, all of which they laid up in the cathedral itself. For this act of incredible folly they had to pay dearly. In the month of August 1642 Colonel Sandys arrived in Canterbury with a troop of horse, and demanded the keys of the church.

What followed will be best told in the words of Dr. Paske, the vice-Dean, who in a letter "to an Honourable Lord," dated August 30, 1642, writes as follows:

> Colonell Sandis, arriving here with his Troop on Friday night, caused a strict watch and sentinels to be set both in the church and upon our several houses, to the great affright of all inhabitants. This done, Sergeant Cockaine came to me, and in the name of the Parliament demanded to see the arms of the church and the store of powder of the county, which I presently showed him. . . . The next morning we were excluded from the church and might not be permitted to enter for the performance of our divine exercises; but about 8 of the clock Sir Michael Livesey attended with many soldiers, came to our offices and commanded them to deliver up the keys of the church to one of their company, which we did, and thereupon he departed. When the soldiers, entering the church and quire, giant-like began to fight against God Himself, overthrew the Communion table, tore the velvet cloth from before it, defaced the goodly screen of tabernacle work, violated the monuments of the dead, spoiled the organs, brake down the ancient rails and seats with the brazen eagle that did support the Bible, forced open the cupboards of the singing-men, rent some of their surplices, gowns, and Bibles, and carried away others, mangled all our service books and books of Common Prayer, bestrowing the whole pavement with leaves thereof—a miserable spectacle to all good eyes. But as if all this had been too little to satisfy the fury of some indiscreet zealots among them (for many did abhor what was done already), they further expressed their malice upon the arras hangings of the quire, representing the whole story of our Saviour, wherein observing the figures of Christ (I tremble to express their blasphemies), one said "Here is Christ," and swore that he would stab Him, which they did accordingly so far as the figures were capable thereof, besides many other villainies. And not content therewith, finding another statue of Christ in the Frontispiece of the South-gate they discharged against it forty shot at the least, triumphing much when they did hit it in the head or face, as if they were resolved to crucify Him again in His figure whom they could not hurt in truth. The tumults appeased, they presently departed for Dover.[1]

It may be noticed that the destruction does not appear to have extended to the stained-glass windows; and it would seem that the Chapter took special measures for protecting them, since from an entry in the treasurer's accounts we learn that the bellringers received fifteen shillings " to keep ye church windows from defacing."

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[1] Printed in London September 9 in the same year.

Dr. Bargrave was not at the deanery when the cathedral was looted by the troopers, but he was arrested at Gravesend shortly afterwards, probably on account of his complicity in the concealment of arms in the church, and for three months was confined in the Fleet prison. Towards the end of the year he was released, and returned to Canterbury, where about Christmas he received the King and Queen.[1] At the same time great efforts were made to repair the damage done in the choir. Culmer tells us that the Communion table was set up again " altarwise that day the sermon was preached there before the King," but that the daily choral service was discontinued, and that only a " plaine Service-book service " was read in the Sermon-house. In order to pay their assessment to the levy for the " speedy and effectual reducing of the rebels in His Majesty's kingdom of Ireland," the Dean and Chapter now determined to sell some of the church plate. The order for the sale states that :

> Whereas the bleeding estate of the Kingdom of Ireland together with the lamentable condition of this Kingdome of England, do call for the help and assistance of all his Majesty's loyall and obedient subjects, We the Dean and Chapter being willing to express ourselves therein according to the utmost of our power, and finding that the Church is much indebted by reason of divers arreres of rent, and other great expenses occasioned by severall accidents, do now order and decree in this case of extremity that the great guilt bason and two faire guilt candlesticks with one rich piece of imbroidered worke belonging unto this Church shall be sold to the best advantage as shall be thought fit by Mr. Deane and Dr. Jackson and the greater number of the prebendaries at home. And that thirty pounds of the money receaved by them for this plate and worke shalbe allowed in one grosse sum towards the relief of our distressed brethren in Ireland, when the same shalbe lawfully demanded . . . and that the rest of the money receaved for

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[1] " To Goodman Grant for keeping ye postern gate when the King was here, 7s 6. Given to the King's footmen, five pounds ; to his coachman, 40s ; to some yeomen of the guard, 20s ; to Mr. Newton a gross sum to be distributed to many, 20li in all—28li." Treasurer's Accounts.

the said plate and embrodery work shalbe ordered and disposed of as shall be thought convenient by the Deane and Chapter or greater part of them within the precincts of the Church when any urgent occasion shall require the disposall thereof.

The order is signed by Dean Bargrave and six of the prebendaries. It must have been almost the last piece of capitular business in which the Dean took part, for he died in the following January. His successor, George Aglionby, was never installed, and died within the same year. Dr. Turner, who succeeded him, survived to the Restoration, but he too was unable to obtain installation until seventeen years after his appointment.

In March 1643 the prospects of the capitular body seemed somewhat brighter, for in that month a special order was issued by the Parliament for the protection "of the prebendaries of Christ Church and of the famous and magnificent church of Canterbury." The order enacted that "ready obedience be given to the prebendaries, and that neither any soldier or townsman or other shall use any misdemeanour, violence or restraint of liberty either to the prebendaries now residing at Canterbury, nor to any the inhabitants within the precincts of the church, nor that any person or persons under any colour or pretext whatsoever presume to use or offer any violence, either by themselves or others, unto the gates, houses, or walls within the precincts of the said church itself, or windows thereunto belonging as they will answer the contrary to the House at their perills," &c. But the protection afforded by this order was of short duration, for before the year was out the passing of an Act for the abolition of deans and chapters deprived the cathedral of its proper custodians and again laid the fabric open to the sacrilegious violence of the Puritans. It was now that the "more orderly and thorough reformation," as Culmer calls the wanton destruction of many priceless examples of ancient art, began. In order to do full justice to the proceedings in which this shameless iconoclast took a prominent part we must quote his own words :

> When the Commissioners entred upon the execution of that Ordinance in that Cathedral, they knew not where to begin, the images and pictures were so numerous, as if that superstitious Cathedral had been built for no other end but to stable Idolls. At last they resolved to begin with the window on the east of the high altar beyond the Saynted-Traitor Archbishop Becket's shrine. . . . But the Commissioners knew not what pictures were in that Eastmost window, and coming to it the first picture they found there was of Austin the Monke, who was the first Archbishop of Canterbury that ever was ; and so it casually fell out that the image of this Arch-Prelate of Canterburie was the first that was demolished in that Cathedrall. Many window-images or pictures in glass were destroyed that day, and many idolls of stone, thirteen representing Christ and His twelve Apostles standing over the West door of the Quire, were all hewed down and 12 more at the North door of the Quire, and 12 Mytred Saints sate aloft over the West door of the Quire, which were all cast down headlong, and some fell on their heads and their myters brake their necks. . . . The Commissioners fell presently to work on the great idolatrous window standing on the left hand as you go up into the Quire : for which window (some affirm) many thousand pounds have been offered by outlandish Papists. In that window was now a picture of God the Father, and of Christ, besides a large Crucifix, and the picture of the Holy Ghost, in the form of a Dove, and of the 12 Apostles ; and in that window were seven large pictures of the Virgin Marie, in seven several glorious appearances, as of the Angells lifting her into heaven, and the Sun, Moon,and stars under her feet, and every picture had an inscription under it beginning with *Gaude Maria sponsa Dei*, that is rejoyce Mary thou Spouse of God. There were in this window many other pictures of Popish saints, as of St. George, &c. But their prime Cathedrall saint—Archbishop Thomas Becket—was most rarely pictured in that window, in full proportion, with Cope, Rochet, Mitre, Crosier and all his Pontificalibus [*sic*]. And in the foot of that huge window was a title intimating that the window was dedicated to the Virgin Mary. *In laudem et honorem beatissime Virginis Marie Matris Dei*, &c. . . . Whilst judgment was executing on the idolls in that window, the Cathedrallists cryed out again for their great Diana, hold your hands, holt, holt, &c. A minister being then at the top of the citie ladder near 60 steps high, with a whole pike in his hand ratling down proud Becket's glassy bones (others then present would not venter so high), to him it was said 'tis a shame for a minister to be seen there ; the minister replyed, Sir, I count it no shame, but an honour, my Master whipt the living buyers and sellers out of the Temple ; these are dead Idolls which defile the worship of God here, being the fruits and occasions of Idolatry : Some wisht he might break

> his neck, others said it should cost blood. But he finished the work and came down well, and was in very good health when this was written.[1] Many other Images were defaced in other windows there, severall pictures of God the Father, of Crucifixes, and men praying to Crucifixes, and to the Virgin Mary; and Images lay on the tombs, with eyes and hands lifted up, and right over them was pictured God the Father, embracing a Crucifix, to which the Image seemed to pray.[2] There was a Cardinall's hat as red as blood, painted in the highest window in that Cathedrall within Bell-Harry steeple, over the quire door, covering the Archbishop's arms, which hat had not so much respect showed it as Cardinall Wolsey's hat had at Court, it was not bowed to but rattled down . . . the last execution against the Idols in that Cathedrall was done in the Cloysters, divers crucifixes and mitred saints were battered in pieces there: St. Dunstan's image pulling the Devil by the nose with a pair of tongs was pulled down, Devill and all. When the Cathedrall men heard that Ordinance of Parliament against Idolatrous Monuments was to be put into execution, they covered a complete Crucifix in the Sermon-house with thin boards, and painted them to preserve their Crucifix, but their jugling was found out, and the Crucifix demolisht.[3]

In the same year which witnessed this wholesale destruction the chief instigator and participator was made a six-preacher, the warrant for his appointment describing him as "Mr. Richard Culmer, Master of Arts, a godly and orthodox divine," whose fitness to preach in the cathedral was certified "by the mayor and other deputy lieutenants of the corporation of the city of Canterbury"!

The cathedral church and its revenues were now placed in the hands of sequestrators, with Captain Thomas Monins as treasurer-general. Hasted (quoting from a MS. formerly in the possession of the Monins family, but now believed to be no longer extant) states that the deanery and prebendal houses were now let to laymen, "the late members of the church, if not delinquents, being allowed, in general, a third part of their former income; and if they had no allowance, their wives were allowed a fifth part of it; the lower members and under officers were in general paid the whole of their stipends; and £100 was allowed yearly to be distributed to the poor." He also adds, from the same source: "There appears during the whole time to have been the psalms read, lectures and sermons preached in the cathedral and Sermon-house, and the sacrament administered in the former; the preacher in the cathedral had £150 per annum, the lecturer in the Sermon-house, £100. The charges for the repair of the church and precincts were not spared; among other articles I find, in 1646, 'paid for the repair of the roof of the church, £109.' In 1647 a great repair was made to the arch over the body of the church, with much expense of masonry, &c., to the amount of £80. For repairing the upper windows of the body, &c., £16."[1] This care for the fabric seems to have been due to the good offices of the treasurer-general, who after the Restoration petitioned the King in regard to his having ever favoured the Royalists, alleging that he had preserved the cathedral from ruin, that he had secreted the church muniments and plate, and restored them at the Restoration. In 1649, however, Monins lost his office through the passing of an ordinance for the sale of the lands and tenements belonging to deans and chapters.

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[1] The minister was Culmer himself. Although he "came down well," Gostling relates that he narrowly escaped a violent death; for while he was on the ladder "a townsman desired to know what he was doing. 'I am doing the work of the Lord,' says he. 'Then,' replied the other, 'if it please the Lord I will help you,' and threw a stone with so good will that if the saint had not ducked, he might have laid his own bones among the rubbish he was making." Gostling's "Walk," ed. 1825, p. 227.

[2] This doubtless refers to the anthropomorphic picture of the Holy Trinity on the tester over the Black Prince's tomb.

[3] "Cathedrall Newes," *ut supra.*

A survey of the houses within the precincts was now made, and those that were held to be redundant were scheduled for destruction. This document has been preserved, and is worthy of some attention for the light it throws upon the disposition of the houses and the accommodation they severally afforded. The list begins with the preachers' houses, and shows that each of the six had a house within the precincts. One was lodged in the gatehouse "leading from the church to the market place." It could not have been a very commodious residence, for it contained no more than "two rooms above stairs, arched and built of freestone and all covered with lead," the rent being estimated at fifty shillings. Two preachers occupied houses "on the south-east side of the churchyard, which probably had once been the lodgings of the chaplains of Arundel's chantry." The house of the redoubtable Richard Culmer is described as "in or near the dark-entry" (doubtless the *Cheker* building). This was quite a large house, with "a kitchen and buttery below stairs, a parlour, and eight chambers with closets, part whereof covered with lead." Another preacher had a house "near unto the Court Hall," consisting of a hall, a parlour, two chambers, and two garrets; together with "the use of the large stone stairs leading to the said messuage." This house evidently occupied part of the monastic "North Hall," and was approached by the Norman staircase. Another preacher occupied a little tenement on the "north side of the Green Court adjoining unto the porter's lodge of the north gate." It contained only a hall, two chambers, and a closet.

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[1] Hasted's "History of Kent," 8vo ed. vol. xi. p. 349, note.

A great part of the Dorter, or dormitory of the monks, was still standing, since we learn that no less than six families were lodged in it.

Only two houses allotted to minor canons are mentioned. Both stood on the south side of the Green Court. Mr. Lambe's is described as "a very mean house, consisting of a hall, a parlour, and one room over them." Mr. Jordan's had in addition to the above meagre accommodation "a little study."

Of the prebendal houses, that allotted to the fourth stall on the north side of the Green Court contained a hall, a parlour, a kitchen, a buttery, a washhouse, a cellar, six lodging-rooms, a matted garret chamber, two other garrets, two wheat-lofts, a stable, and a hay-loft. It also had " a little garden before the house, and a walk upon the city wall with a place to dry clothes in." The yearly value was reckoned at £6 13s. 4d.

Dr. Jackson's house is described as " near to the convent garden, abutting upon the house of Sir John Fotherby on the south, and upon the city wall east." This must have been the house which formerly stood in the south-east corner of the " Oaks." It was pulled down about twenty years ago, when the present modern house now occupied by the Rev. Canon Danks was erected further north. This house contained a hall, parlour, kitchen, study, washhouse, two butteries, three lodging-chambers with a little closet, and four garrets over them. It also had " a garden planted with fruit trees, together with one fair orchard called ye common orchard, and a little building upon the city wall." Altogether it was estimated to be worth £12 a year.

On the south side of the churchyard was a messuage " commonly called the Archdeacon's house," containing a hall, two parlours, a kitchen, two ground chambers, with a little closet in one of them, and four chambers, and one closet above stairs, a cellar, a buttery, a large courtyard before the house, a backyard, one large garden planted with fruit trees, one other garden planted with plum trees, wherein is a great walnut tree; a stable, a hay-loft, a straw-house, and a little yard. The estimated rent was £11 5s., and the house was let on lease to Thomas Monins, the late treasurer-general.

Many other houses in the precincts are included in the schedule, but their position is not stated, and the above description will be enough to indicate the extent of the accommodation which in the seventeenth century was considered sufficient for the various officers of the church. The deanery is not included in the list, doubtless for the reason that it was considered too good a house to pull down.

Amongst the buildings more immediately attached to the church itself which were scheduled for destruction was "the audit-house, consisting of two rooms and a closet on the first floor and one room on the second story; the vestry [treasury], with a room over that, adjoining the audit-house, with a staircase to the same belonging, and all that fair staircase leading from the cathedral to the library over the dean's chapel, and likewise one passage leading from the cathedral to the Sermon-house, and a round tower called Bell-Jesus, as also the Cloysters lying on the north side of the cathedral church. The materials of all which buildings to be taken down (the same being all covered with lead), we estimate the worth to be £451 1s. 8d."

Happily, none of the buildings mentioned in the last paragraph were destroyed, but curiously enough the dean's chapel with the library over it, which are not included in the schedule, were pulled down at this time.

An inventory was also taken of the goods of the church. By this time very few of its former fittings and ornaments were left, but of the meagre array which remained the committee took their toll. Even the Bible and Prayer-book bought for Laud's visitation in 1633 were carried off to London, and the brass eagle "formerly used in the quire as a desk to lay a Bible on"—doubtless Prior Goldston's *analogium*—shared the same fate. The Communion plate, consisting of two gilt flagons, two gilt cups with covers, one gilt cup, two little plates, two large white plates, were left in the vestry.

But Independency was now in the ascendant, and the Burgmote Book of the city records that "on the 5th day of the 5th month" the Congregationalists "did unanimously agree to break bread in the Sermon-house, and ordered that henceforth it should be there." A fortnight later the Congregationalists accepted from the Sequestrators a loan of the cathedral plate.

Henceforward until the Restoration the history of the cathedral church is a blank. Sermons were preached every Lord's Day in the chapter-house by Mr. John Durant or Mr. Thomas Player, two Independent divines, both of whom occupied houses in the precincts; but the daily voice of prayer and praise in the choir was silent for ten years. "Bell-Harry" no longer summoned the faithful to matins and evensong. Once a week only was his familiar note heard, and then merely for the mundane purpose of reminding the citizens that the mayor was going to open the market.

C. E. W.

CHAPTER XV

FROM THE RESTORATION TO THE CLOSE OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

King Charles II landed at Dover on May 25, 1660, fully determined that come what might he would never again go on his travels. Clarendon tells us that after receiving the congratulations of General Monk and a loyal welcome from the townsfolk, the King "presently took coach, and came that night to Canterbury, where he stayed, the next day being Sunday, and went to his devotions to the cathedral, which he found much dilapidated and out of repair, yet the people seemed glad to hear the Common Prayer again."[1] One wonders who could have officiated at this service, since neither dean nor prebendaries can at this date have returned to their ruined houses in the precincts; indeed, of the latter only three survived to see the restoration of Church and King. The vacant stalls were, however, quickly filled up, and within little more than three months after the King landed at Dover the capitular body (after an interval of sixteen or seventeen years) were able once more to meet for business in their audit-house. The task which confronted them was an almost overwhelming one. First there was a deputation from the old lay clerks, demanding the payment of their salaries now many years in arrears; and then a long procession of tenants, clamorous for compensation for losses incurred during the troublous times. One of the six-preachers put in a claim to be paid for a sermon he had

[1] "History of the Rebellion," ed. 1819, vol. iii. pt. 2, p. 1021.

preached in the cathedral pulpit on the eve of the Rebellion, which, as he alleged, had been the cause of his incurring much personal suffering and some pecuniary loss.

This letter is so curious and at the same time so illustrative of the sufferings of the loyal clergy that it is worth quoting in full:

> Being about Canterbury in those days when the tide of vulgar insolencies ran very high against the Church and Churchmen, I was earnestly requested by Mr. Baker of worthy memory (upon whom the burthen at that time lay very heavy) to ease him one part of a fast day by preaching in the course of some one or other of the absent and dispossessed members of the metropolitan church, and taking occasion in a former sermon (according to my duty) to inveigh something heartily against the sacrilegious practices of seditious men, especially in order to the deplorable ruins, and barbarous havocks and prophanations then newly committed upon the Body, and other more sacred places of the renowned Cathedral, I was for that cause (as hundreds of witnesses still living can attest) inhumanly persecuted, and daily hunted after and taken at last out of my bed in the night by armed men and cast into the common jayle, where I lay more than a good while to my utter impoverishing, and was forced at last through the Puritans' implacable malice (being resolved against the Scotch Covenant) for divers years together to forsake ye county, the place of my birth, and the residence of my mother, and other friends from whom in those sad times I had my chief subsistence. So that God and the world knows that the breach then made upon my poor fortunes is scarce made up unto this day. Now the Revd. Dr. aforesaid, and afterwards some others of his brethren now with God, besides the copy of their countenance, and the usual salary of the church (yet unpaid), were pleased to encourage me with large promises for the future. But nothing as the times were having been ever performed, I am blushing bold to make this humble address to your worships (though my friends amongst you be gone, and old and suffering services forgotten) that you would vouchsafe to take into consideration (because I am but a mean casuist myself) whether in equity it will not a little concern this grave and learned assembly at least to make good the engagement and just debt of your worthy predecessors, as the salary of the church to this day, I say, unpaid (though faithfully promised both before and after the sermon) will amount unto.

Though payment for John Peirce's sermon could have made no very serious inroads on the church's treasury, it was otherwise with the demands of those tenants who had either been dispossessed of their holdings or had purchased them from the Parliamentary Committee. There were some hard cases. The lessee of the manor of Birchington complained bitterly of his hard lot in having to pay a fine of one hundred pounds to renew his lease after (to quote his own words) "having had all the plagues of Egypt on me, sequestered, decimated, put in prison, my barns with all the corn in them burnt." But the need of raising money was paramount, and a like necessity has in our own day been held to justify measures which press hardly on individuals. Hence the Chapter took their fines, and with the proceeds they were able to set about the much-needed restoration of the cathedral.

The lamentable condition of the great church and its surroundings is graphically described in a memorandum drawn up by the dean and chapter, which had for its object the refutation of "the false aspersion and calumny" that they had put these fines into their own pockets. After indignantly denying this aspersion, the memorandum proceeds as follows:

> But first, as a necessary premonition, we shall here recount and represent the sad, forlorn, and languishing condition of our church at our return, which (in short) was such as made it look more like some ruined monastery than a church, so little had the late Reformers left remaining of it but bare walls and roof, and these, partly through neglect and partly by daily assaults and batteries of the disaffected, so shaken, ruinated, and defaced as it was not more unserviceable in the way of a Cathedral than justly scandalous to all who delight to serve God in the beauty of holiness. The windows (famous both for their strength and beauty) so generally battered and broken down as it lay exposed to the injury of all weathers; the whole roof with that of the steeples, the chapter house, and Cloyster extremely impaired and ruined, both in the timber work and lead; the water tables, pipes, and lead in almost all places cut off, and with the leaden cistern of one of our conduits purloyned; the Quire stripped and robbed of her fair and goodly hangings, her organ and organ-loft; the Communion table of the best and chiefest of her furniture and ornaments, with the rail before it and the skreen of Tabernacle-work, richly overlaid with gold behind it; many of the goodly monuments of the dead shamefully abused, defaced,

> rifled, and plundered of their brasses, iron grates, and barres; the Common Dortor (affording good housing for many members of that church), with the Dean's private chapel, and a fair and a good library over it, quite demolished, the Books and other furniture of it sold away; our houses with those of our Six-Preachers and Peti-Canons (many of them) much impaired, some by neglect of reparations, others by mangling and parcelling them out into tenements; . . . our stables some of them pulled down, others suffered to fall down, the rest ruinous; our very Common Seal, our Registers and other books together with our Records and evidences of all sorts, seized and distracted, many of them irrecoverably lost, and the rest not retrieved without much trouble and cost; the goodly oaks in our common garden, of good value in themselves and in their time very beneficial to our church by their shelter, quite eradicated and set to sale;[1] generally whatever was money-worth made prize of and imbezilled; and in fine a goodly brave cathedral become no better (in respect of those who got and kept possession of it) than a den of thieves, and plunderers, and to make the better way for such invaders to abuse it, the churche's guardians, her fair and strong Gates, betimes turned off their hooks and burned.

One of the first acts of restoration was to replace the "churche's guardians," and so well was the work done that the gates then set up have lasted to the present day. Their outer face, which is decorated with some very bold and vigorous carving, bears the arms of Archbishop Juxon, impaling those of the see of Canterbury; and the arms of Christ Church. The excellence of the constructive work displayed on the inner face of the gates is also worthy of attention.

Within the cathedral the work of restoration proceeded apace. But it would seem that even before much could have been done in the way of fitting up the choir the choral services were resumed with all the old stately ceremonial, since in the very year that witnessed the King's return minor canons, lay clerks, and choristers were in their places, and in receipt of their stipends. Moreover, silver maces were purchased for the vergers.[1] But the provision of suitable ornaments and fittings was not long delayed. Four pieces of "fine landskip hangings of silk lined with canvas were purchased at a cost of £52 10s. These were used probably to line the walls on either side of the high altar."[2] In 1664 a new screen of woodwork was set up behind the high altar in which some portions of the earlier mediæval screen seem to have been incorporated. For in spite of the statements that the latter was entirely destroyed by the Puritans, it is clear that some part of it was preserved, since Christopher Hartover of Deptford, the craftsman employed upon the new work, undertook (in return for a sum of £120) "to make and set up such *addition* of joined and carved work to be wrought and done in wainscot as are now in any parts wanting to the *full completing and perfecting of the screen now standing and being* on the ascent at the east end of the quire." He further agreed to furnish the altar with a "front of cloth to be put into a comely frame of wood and so coloured and painted, as the same may suit with and supply the want of the present altar cloth, or purple front of velvet and crimson damask, now hanging and used there." In Dart's view of the choir (published in 1726) Hartover's screen appears as a handsome erection, having a lofty canopy or tester over the altar and a far more artistic production than that which replaced it in 1732.

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[1] Somner, in an unpublished MS. in the Cathedral library, says: "These oaks stood growing all on the right hand or south side of the stone causey, at some reasonable distance from the church." The grass plot in the south-eastern corner of the precincts is still called the "Oaks," though the trees which surround it now are limes.

For use at the altar itself a handsome and costly set of plate was purchased, comprising two flagons, two alms-dishes, and a pair of pricket candlesticks, all of silver-gilt. The candlesticks are still placed on the re-table, and on the altar may still be seen the folio

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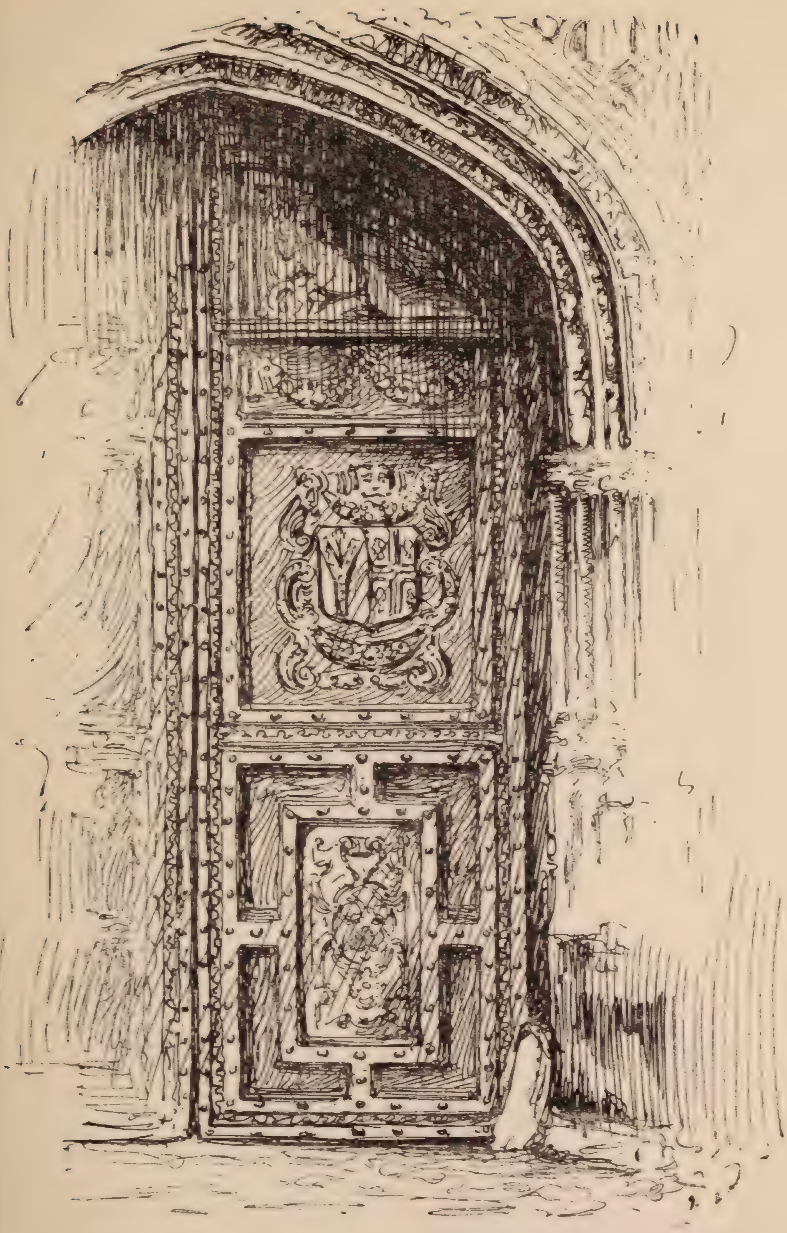
[1] "Magistro Smith aurifabro London' pro duabus virgis argenteis novis ponder' 29 uncias, et valoris 5^{s} per unciam, preter 3^{li} pro fabricatione ad opus ecclesie in toto x^{li} v^{s}." *Treasurer's Accounts*, 1660.

[2] Gostling mentions arras hangings in this position before the erection of the panelling in the presbytery in 1732.



The Christ Church Gate with the Arms of Archbishop Juxon, 1661

Bible (resplendent in covers of silver-gilt) which was given to the church at the same time by Dean Turner, tradition says as "a thank-offering for deliverance from a great danger." An entry in the treasurer's accounts relating to the purchase of "two chaffing dishes and frankincense" is at first sight somewhat startling. But since there is no record of the ceremonial use of incense in the services of the post-Reformation church we may conclude that the vessels were used merely for the purposes of fumigation.

It would be impossible to describe within reasonable limits all the various repairs and acquisitions made during the first decade after the Restoration. They are, however, conveniently summarised for us in a statement drawn up in 1670 for the information of Archbishop Sheldon. From this source we learn that by the above-mentioned date the Dean and Chapter had spent £7921 on "reparations, utensils, and ornaments of the church"; £1000 on the repair of their own houses; £2880 as a present to the King; on the augmentation of poor benefices in their gift, £2209; in increasing the stipends of the choir and other inferior officers, £2500; towards the redemption of captives, £340; and on charity (in addition to the £100 a year ordered by the statutes), £1648. Truly a wonderful record, and one of which the capitular body may have felt justly proud.

In connection with the money spent on the redemption of captives, we must not omit to notice the heroic action of Dr. John Bargrave, one of the canons, who not only collected the money, but took it out himself to Algiers, where at great personal risk he bearded the Bey in his own fortress, and brought back to England many of his unfortunate fellow countrymen who had been reduced to slavery. "I bought them," he tells us in one of his letters, "slave by slave as one buyeth horses at Smithfield, but it was a thousand to one that I and my fellow commissioner had been made slaves."

By his own wish, one of the fetters removed from the limbs of a slave was afterwards placed over Bargrave's tomb in the cathedral, but this memorial of his brave act has long since disappeared.

But we must revert to our description of work done to the fabric of the cathedral. In 1675 it was decided to line with wainscot Prior Eastry's lateral choir-screens. The work was entrusted to Roger Davis, joiner, of London, who was instructed to make the design accord with that of the panelling "lately set up in the hall of the Mercers' Company in London." It extended for seventy feet from east to west, and was twelve feet in height above the stalls. The design was a handsome one, as will be seen by accompanying plate, and the woodwork no doubt not only made the choir warmer, but also improved its acoustic properties. It did not, however, meet the taste of the Gothic purists of the early years of the nineteenth century, who in consequence cleared it away.[1]

The Dean and Chapter were so well pleased with Davis's work that seven years later (1682) they employed him again, this time to erect return stalls at the western end of the choir. Happily this fine specimen of Caroline carved woodwork has escaped the hand of the "restorer," though it had a narrow escape when the choir was reseated in 1879, Sir Gilbert Scott being in favour of its removal. From the original specification (which is preserved) we learn that Davis contracted to place the arms of the dean and vice-dean over their respective stalls; but this was not done, for the arms of Archbishop Sheldon are carved over the former, and those of Christ Church over the latter stall. The cost was £320.

It was at this time probably that a picture of King Charles I in oil colours was placed over the central doorway of the choir screen. This picture, which represents the King in the attitude of prayer, with

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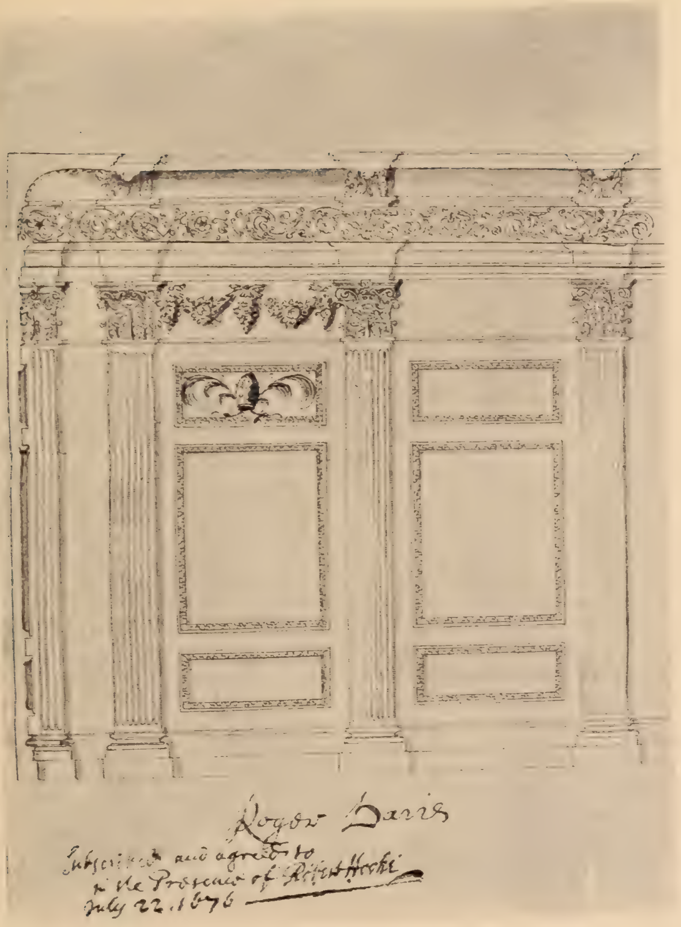
[1] During Dean Percy's "restorations," *c.* 1826.



PANELLING IN THE CHOIR
ERECTED 1676

the crown (of martyrdom ?) descending from the clouds closely resembles the engraving in Gauden's *Eikon Basilikē*, and was perhaps the source from which the latter was taken. The picture now hangs in the library.

A prospective visit from Queen Mary in 1693 caused the Dean and Chapter to spend money upon refurbishing the choir. And Widow More was paid sixpence for "getting hearbes for the Queen's seat." But their efforts to please her Majesty were not altogether successful, for the Queen when she paid her visit to the cathedral noticed that "the altar furniture was dirty." Fortunately, however, Dean Hooper was a *persona grata* at Court, and in order to show her regard for him the Queen, shortly after her departure, sent down to Canterbury a page of the backstairs with "a pane of figured velvet and a pane of gold stuff flowered with silver." This must have made a very handsome covering for the altar, for the material cost no less than five hundred pounds.

Before describing the alterations made to the fabric and fittings of the church in the eighteenth century a few remarks may be made as to the manner in which the church services were conducted at this period. From the early years of the eighteenth century to nearly its close there was a weekly celebration of the Holy Communion in the cathedral. These were the days of the Test Act, and the quantity of sacramental wine consumed was prodigious. From the sacrist's accounts we learn that the usual Sunday supply was three quarts, but on the festivals of Christmas and Easter no less than six quarts were provided. The wine in general use was *Muskeden*, but occasionally *Allebent* was purchased. About 1790 the weekly celebration was given up and a monthly one substituted, a practice which continued during the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Matins were sung daily at ten o'clock until 1684, when the Chapter, "after great and serious debate and mature deliberation," ordered that henceforth "the whole of the prayers and services on the mornings of Sundays and holy days should be *performed together* at nine of the clock." Evensong was at three o'clock in the summer and at four o'clock in the winter, as at present. Early prayers, which were intended principally for the scholars of the King's school, were said daily in the chapter-house by the minor canon of the week, "without note," at six o'clock in the summer and at seven in winter. Gostling says that this dated from King James II's time, "when Judge Jefferies informed the Chapter that the Presbyterians had a petition before the King and Council representing this [the chapter-house] as a place of little or no use, and desiring that they might have it for their meeting-house. The person who was entrusted with this message, being a member of the choir, proposed the making of it a chapel for early prayers. . . . 'This will do,' says the Chancellor. 'Advise your dean and prebendaries from me to have it put to that use immediately; for if the Presbyterians do not get it, perhaps others will whom you may like worse.'"[1]

Sermons were still preached in the chapter-house. A curious description in verse of the interior of the cathedral (as it was in the last quarter of the seventeenth century) from the pen of John Boys, of Hode Court,[2] tells us this, and also how greatly women preponderated in the congregation. After describing the cloister, Boys goes on to say:

> To the east quarter of the same I come
> Where a fair folding door into a room
> (A church indeed) doth me admittance lend,
> Which shall I first, the roof or walls, commend ?
> Or rather the whole symmetry ? but these
> Dead ornaments doe not so truly please
> As doe the living. What a crowd do I,
> How close a throng of people here espie ?

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[1] Gostling's "Walk," ed. 1825, p. 219.

[2] Christ Church, Canterbury, MS. E. 32.

Men, women, children, gentry, tradesmen here,
All ages, sexes, and degrees appear.
But when so great and calm and silence I
Soe general stillness did descry,
Where of that talking sex so many were,
For to one man ten women did appear,
My wonder was (I must confess) increas'd.

Presently he noticed that the cause of their attention was the fact that an eloquent preacher was in the pulpit, and he goes on to describe the sermon. When he enters the choir, Boys tells us that he first makes his obeisance towards the altar, and then kneels down and says a prayer. This done, he sits down and is "at leisure for a while to view the people and survey the pile." The following description, which must refer to a Sunday morning congregation, is very quaint :

And first in their formalities are seen
The learned prebends and the reverend dean.
The magistrates I next observe, for here
The purple senate of the town appear.
Thrice blessed union when the Church and State
The Word and sword do thus concorporate.
On th' other side, and to them opposite,[1]
The gentry have their seats, below in white
The scholars clad fill their appointed place.
The multitude crowd in the middle space.
But shall we th' other sex exclude ? Noe, they
Their stations also have to *talk* and pray.

If Dean Tillotson were the preacher when John Boys made his way to the chapter-house, we can understand the spell his eloquence had over the "talkative sex," for Tillotson was the greatest preacher of his age. The "learned prebends" did not spend much time in their prebendal houses, for they generally held two, and sometimes three, benefices apiece. Since there were twelve of them, their sermons in the cathedral did not exceed four in the year, and these were not infrequently preached by substitutes. Nor were their duties in the choir very onerous during their "residence," for at this date the prayers were said by a minor canon, the first lesson was read by a lay clerk, the second lesson by a minor canon, and two lay clerks chanted the Litany. A somewhat better state of things prevailed in the opening years of the eighteenth century. Indeed, there is just one instance on record when the dean and all twelve prebendaries were present at a service in the choir at the same time. The circumstance was held to be so extraordinary that the dean and chapter caused the following minute to be entered in their Act Book: "June 28, 1718. Mem^{d} that this day Mr. Dean and all the prebendaries were present at morning prayer in the Quire of this church. Mr. Dean began the service; Mr. Johnson, the minor canon, in his course read the first lesson; Dr. Sydall, treasurer, the second lesson; and Dr. Blomer, vice-Dean, chanted the Litany." The feat of the last-named gentleman must have been a particularly rare one in the eighteenth century, and has not often been attempted by any of his successors.

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[1] In the margin is written "north side."

During the eighteenth century a good deal of money was spent one way and another upon the fabric of the church, but it must be confessed that much of the work was rather destructive than constructive, and that too often the alterations made were doubtful improvements.

In 1704 the wooden shaft or spire which since the days of Prior Eastry had crowned the north-west steeple was reported to be so much damaged by the great storm which in the previous November had wrought havoc throughout the country, that it was taken down.[1] In the same year the double row of ancient stalls on either side of the choir was replaced by pewing. The work was entrusted to John Smallwell, joiner, of London, who, in return for the sum of £300, agreed "to set up two ranges of pews of good right wainscott well matched, on either side of the choir, leading from the deans and prebendaries' stalls up to the archbishop's throne in the said choir, with suitable benches before the outside pews for the choristers and King's scholars . . . the said benches to be finished as well and in as good workmanlike manner as the pews and benches are in the cathedral of St. Paul in London."

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[1] "Agreed with Thos. Bullock and Thos. Caister to take down the spire steeple and lay up the materials, and to make the platform good on which the spire now stands." *Chapter acts.*

At the same time Archbishop Tenison gave a new archiepiscopal throne of woodwork having a lofty canopy supported by pillars of the Corinthian order. Dr. Tenison's throne was removed about a hundred and thirty years later to make way for the present throne of bathstone, and was then hidden away in some storehouse for fifty or sixty years. Within recent memory the canopy has been brought out again and has been set up in the south-east transept, where it now forms the case of an organ.

In 1718 the audit-house was reported to be both incommodious and unsafe, and was accordingly taken down and rebuilt in red brick. It was a matter of some importance to the capitular body to have a comfortable place in which to transact their business, for at the Midsummer and St. Katherine's audits their sessions—with short intervals—often lasted for several weeks. The purchase of a coffee-pot, cups, and a sugar-box for the audit-house leads us to conclude that certain creature comforts were not altogether denied to the dignitaries of the church during these long sittings.

During the next fourteen years no work of any importance was done in or about the church. But in 1729 a legacy of £500 from Dr. Grandorge, one of the prebendaries, "for making improvements in the church," became the starting-point of fresh activity. It was decided that the money should be spent on a new altar-piece and on a wainscot lining to the presbytery. For the former a design was supplied by James Burrough, a Fellow and afterwards Master of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, which met with approval and was carried out in 1733. Burrough's altar-piece kept its place until the alterations made at the east end of the choir in Dean Percy's time (*c.* 1825). As may be seen from the accompanying plate taken from Wild's view of the choir published in 1816, the design was of no particular merit, and one wonders why the new screen was thought to be an improvement on the old. The latter, however, was not destroyed, but was set up again as a lining to the new screen.[1]

Even in the eighteenth century there were some people who liked the old screen better than the new, for Gostling, writing in 1774, says, when describing, the Trinity Chapel: "Opposite to the stone chair we see the old altar-piece, now the lining of that to which it gave place in the year 1730. It is handsomely adorned with painting and gilding, and of a design which some think more suitable to a Gothic cathedral than the new one." But although the design of the latter was poor, the work was thorough and sound of its kind, and cost a good deal of money. Thus the joiner, whose work included the panelling of the presbytery, was paid £602, the carver £279, and the gilder £13 3s. Nor was this the whole of the outlay, for very considerable sums were spent on the furniture of the altar, so that the whole amount expended was more than double that of Dr. Grandorge's legacy—surely a testimony that the custodians of the metropolitical church were not altogether unmindful of their responsibilities even in an age which is generally associated with supineness and neglect in regard to spiritual things.[2]

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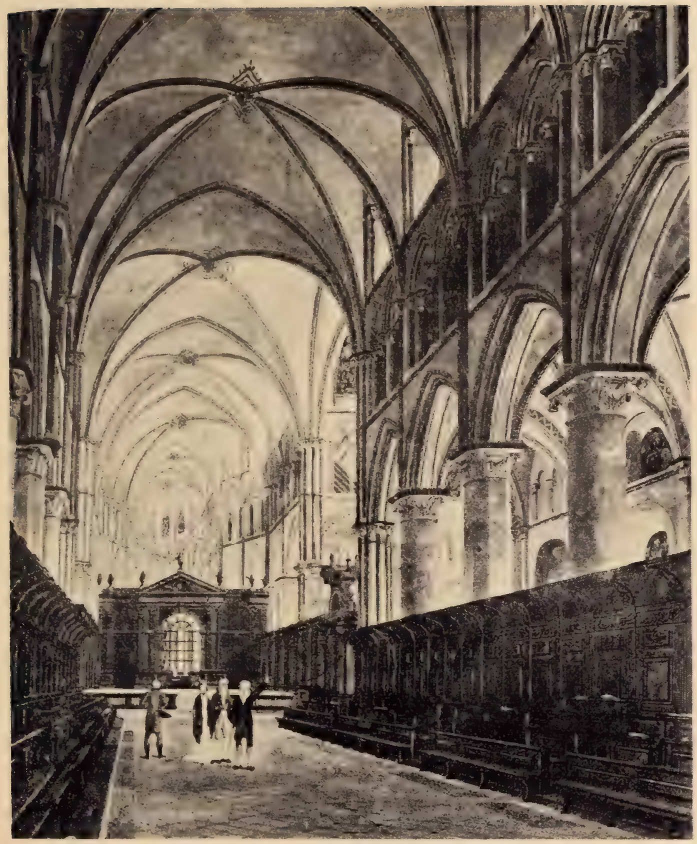
[1] "1733. To the carpenter for work done to the frame to set the old altar-piece on, and for putting up the old altar-piece, and for 47 yards of wainscott done at the old altar-piece at 2s. 6d. per yard, £5 17s. 6d." *Treasurer's Accounts.*

[2] "Bought of John Thompson and Thomas Jenyngs 45 yards of crimson Genoa velvet at 22s., £49 10s. For 12 gold Topsells at 17s. 6d.



THE CHOIR, 1816

In 1748 an attempt was made to give a more finished appearance to the parapet of the Corona by reducing to a uniform height the unfinished work of the fifteenth century. The idea was to make the openings which were intended for the windows of a higher story look like battlements. But a bad matter was only made worse, as any one may see to-day.[1]

A better piece of work was carried out three years later, when the gable of the south-east transept, which had long been in a dilapidated condition, was rebuilt under the direction of George Dance the elder. The state of the gable previously may be judged by the fact that for some years it had been faced with weather-boarding.

A good deal of decorative work was done to the interior of the cathedral in 1766 in anticipation of Archbishop Sherlock's visitation. From the treasurer's accounts of the year we learn that the dean and chapter spent £47 2s. 6d. on redecorating the font; £22 3s. on painting and gilding the rails of the monuments; £12 13s. 6d. on a new velvet chair for the archiepiscopal throne; and £61 9s. 9d. for the upholstery of the throne and pulpit.

Twenty years later, when Dr. Horne was Dean, a good many alterations were made, many of them, it must be confessed, of a destructive character, though undertaken with the best of motives and doubtless at the time considered to be great improvements. Thus, when in 1787 the nave was repaved with Portland stone, the ancient raised tombs of Archbishops Islip and Whittlesey were removed and never replaced. At the same time the numerous ledger stones, many of which bore the incised effigies of the priors of

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each, £10 10s. For 13 yards of broad gold lace at 8s. 6d., and 10 yards of narrow gold lace at 2s. 6d., £5 10s. 6d. For a large carpet containing 51 pike great measure, at 5s. 6d., £14 0s. 6d." *Treasurer's Accounts.*

[1] The money for this work was provided by a retired naval captain named Humphrey Pudner.

Christ Church, and other persons of distinction, were removed to the chapter-house. Fortunately, before their removal a map was made of the floor of the nave, with the aid of which and Somner's description of the gravestones in the nave the positions of many of these memorials can be determined.

It would seem that although no use whatever was made of the nave, the one idea of the dean and chapter was to make it as bare as possible ; for they relegated Bishop Warner's font to the lavatory tower, cleared away the screen work which enclosed the consistory court beneath the north-west tower,[1] and pulled down the little chapel which Dame Joan Brenchly had erected outside the south aisle.

Within the choir the work of "restoration" comprised the sawing off of the oval part of the steps leading up to the altar, the removal of the brass eagle to the library, and the daubing of the walls and roof with whitewash. The general effect produced by Horne's "restorations" is well described by Horace Walpole, who in a letter addressed to Miss Berry in 1794 says: "I wish you had seen Canterbury some years before they whitewashed it ; for it is coarsely daubed, and so few tombs remain for so vast a map that I was shocked at the nudity of the whole." [2]

Perhaps when we consider how entirely void the age was of sentiment, we have reason to be grateful that the destruction of the memorials of the past was not greater. As an illustration of the complete indifference with which an eighteenth-century bishop could speak of the remains of his saintliest predecessor we will conclude this chapter by giving an abridged account of certain correspondence between Archbishop Herring and the Dean and Chapter relative to the relics of St. Anselm. In 1753, hearing that the King of

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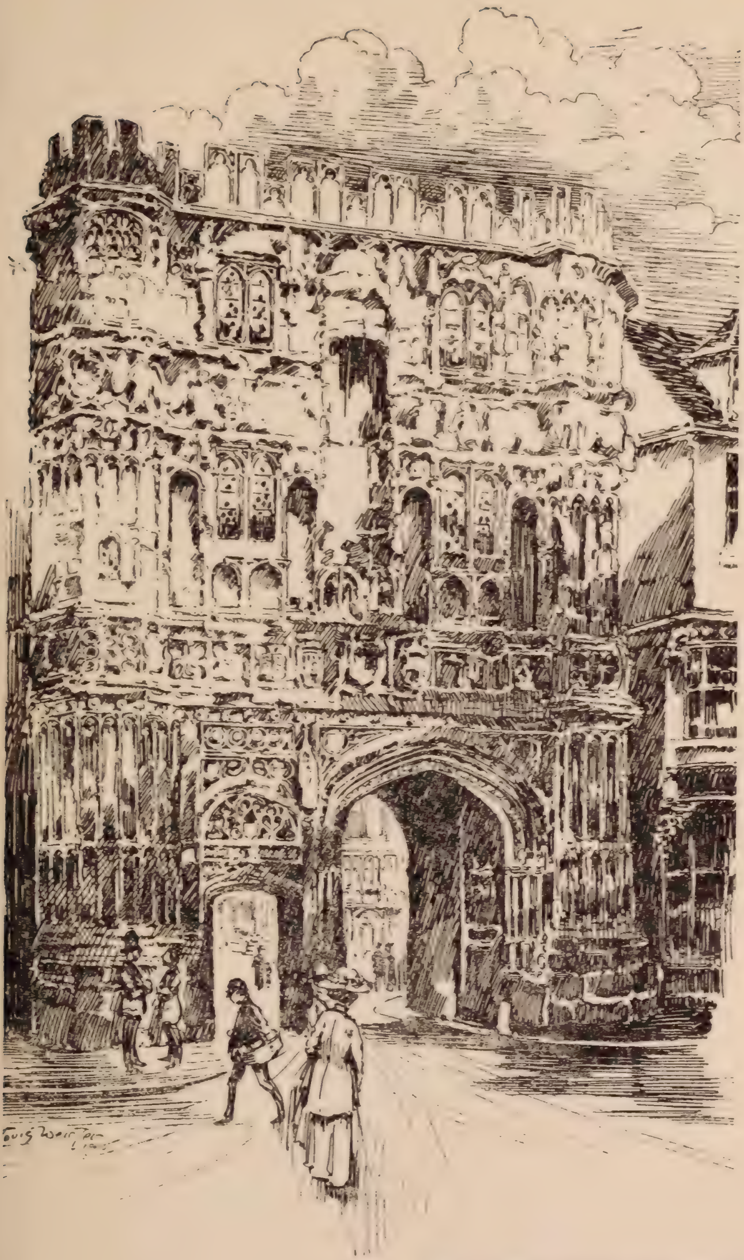
[1] The consistory court was now removed to the chapter-house.

[2] Walpole's "Correspondence," vol. ix. p. 441.



The " Christ Church Gate " after the removal of the turrets

Sardinia was anxious to be possessed of the relics of the saint, Dr. Herring wrote that he would be glad to exchange "the rotten remains of a rebel to his King, a slave to the Popedom, and an enemy to the married clergy for ease and indulgence to one living Protestant." Indeed, he went so far as to say that he "would make a conscience of palming on the simpletons any old bishop with the name of Anselm." In a subsequent letter he informed the Chapter that the Spanish ambassador, the Count Perron, had approached him on the same subject, and had intimated that if any removal of the relics should take place, the Count must be an ocular witness of what was done. The vice-Dean (Dr. Samuel Schuckford) in his reply says that he believes St. Anselm's shrine, like that of Becket and Dunstan and all the other shrines, was destroyed at the time of the Reformation; that he has examined his chapel and "can find no appearance of any tomb or monument that can be thought to concern him." Moreover, the undercroft was in such a neglected state "that it could not be desirable to have a foreign personage of high character take the offence at our manner of using it, which his coming to have an ocular inspection and examination of it would surely give to his communion." And he concludes his letter with the following well-merited (though somewhat carefully veiled) rebuke to the Archbishop: "Whether the searching for to authenticate one who was canonised, had his altar, and his day of service might not be considered in a further view than that of looking for the remains of an old Archbishop only to be removed and deposited in his native country." [1]

C. E. W.

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[1] Christ Church, Canterbury, MS. Y. 14, 172*a*.

CHAPTER XVI

THE CATHEDRAL IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

During the first quarter of the nineteenth century no event of importance to this history is recorded; neither repair of the structure nor break in the routine of cathedral affairs—the great awakening had not begun. We may therefore pause on the threshold of a new age to illustrate what was then permitted by public opinion and the current standards of clerical responsibility.

Of Archbishop Manners-Sutton (1805–28) a recent writer has said that he took an interest in the National Society, and that "not less than sixteen rectories, vicarages and chapelries, besides preacherships and dignities in cathedrals, were shared among seven of the Primate's family. Dean Percy, who had married one of his Grace's daughters, was portioned off with preferments to the value of £10,000 a year. The Rev. James Croft, who obtained the hand of another daughter, was Archdeacon of Canterbury, and held *in commendam* the rich livings of Cliffe-at-Hoo and Saltwood, as well as the curacy of Hythe. Others of the Chapter were pretty well provided for. Doctors Russell, Spry, Dawson, and Manners-Sutton between them held, in addition to their stalls, the livings of Marylebone, Bishopsgate, Margate, Wilmington, Chislehurst, Orpington, All Hallows London, Tunstall, Great Chart and Hanbury."[1]

Of Dean Powys (1797–1809) the most characteristic record is that "he spent Lent in Canterbury to hear the minor canons preach."

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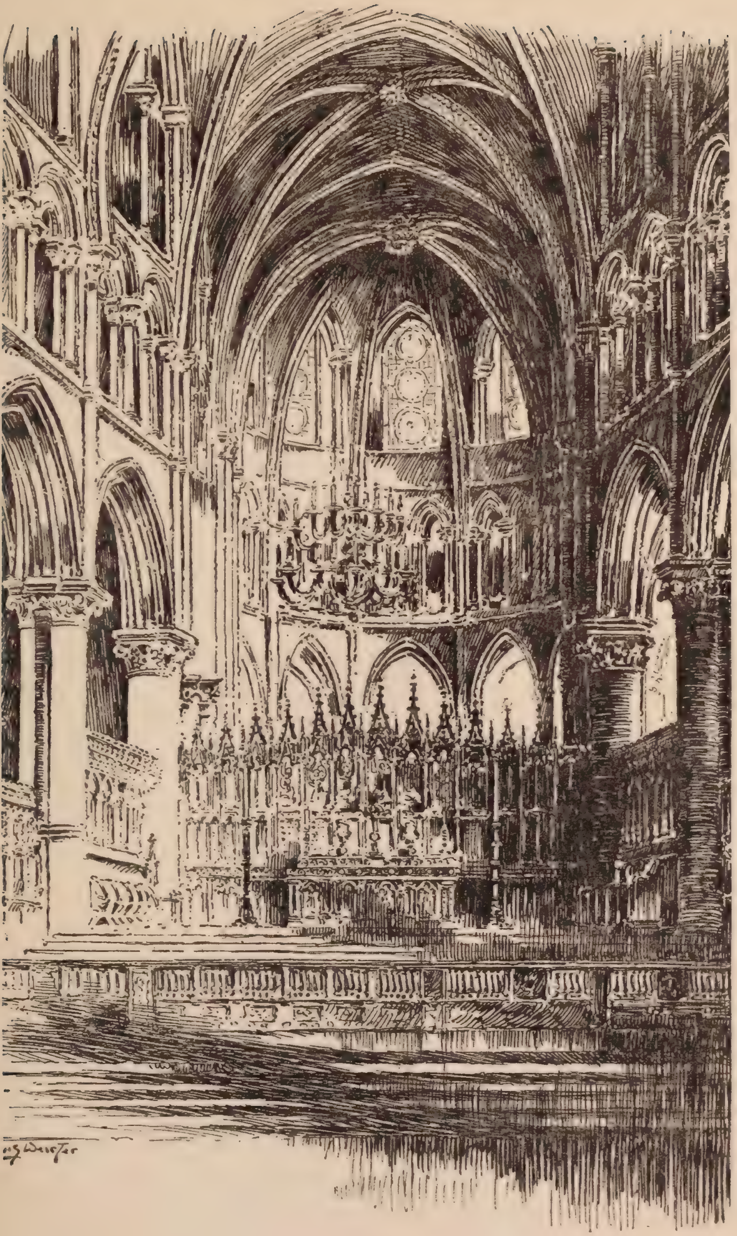
[1] "Chronological History of Canterbury Cathedral," by G. S., p. 353.



The Choir

Some further insight into the state of affairs within the precincts is afforded by the unpublished Reminiscences of the Rev. George Gilbert, a prebendary of Lincoln, who in early life lived in the precincts at Canterbury. In his gossiping pages Mr. Gilbert tells us that Dr. Welfitt was chaplain to the House of Commons, and regarded this post as a claim for cathedral preferment. He made elaborate (and financial) arrangements with the physician of a dying prebendary for the earliest news of his demise. By some mishap the tidings arrived three days late after all. He therefore promptly saddled his horse and rode eighty miles without halting, saw Lord North, and secured the stall. "Do you not think," said he to Allen Fielding, then vicar of St. Stephen's, "that after such a day's labour I deserved a stall?" "I am sure your horse did," was the witty reply. Whatever his deserts, he was prebendary for forty-seven years, resided nine months in every year, and attended service twice daily; indeed, there was one year, shortly before his death, in which he missed only one service.

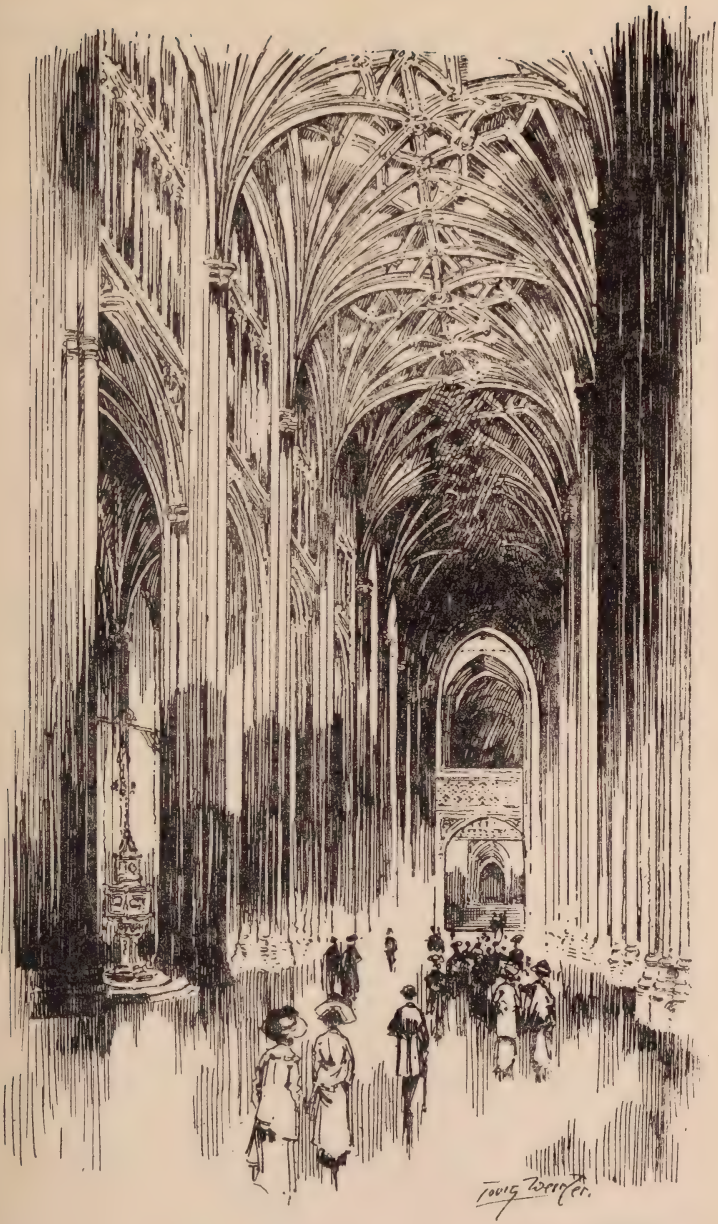
Prebendary John Peel, the brother of the great statesman, is remembered as an impressive and eloquent preacher and a benefactor to the cathedral. In 1834 the cloister was much decayed, and by a generous gift of a thousand pounds he enabled the Chapter to execute the needful repairs.

Dr. Nelson, a brother of the naval hero, occupied the fifth stall from 1803 to 1838, and is described as "a rough man, fitted to be a country squire, rather short and stout, who wore a long black frock coat nearly to his ankles, Hessian boots, and a large shovel hat." There is a scandalous tradition that he occasionally took a newspaper into his stall at weekday services, and being very deaf was unaware that others could hear the folding or unfolding of it. "For some days," says Mr. Gilbert, "before the battle of Trafalgar he went regularly at eight o'clock to

Bristow's reading-room in the Parade for the earliest news of Lord Nelson and the fleet. When the sad, glad news arrived, Bristow hastened to the cathedral yard to meet Dr. Nelson, that he might be prevented from learning in a public newsroom of his brother's death. He was much affected, and returned to his house shedding tears." Lady Emma Hamilton occasionally visited Dr. and Mrs. Nelson in the Brickwalk; but it was not easy to get ladies to call upon or meet her. Mrs. Bridges (the mother of Sir Egerton and Sir John) had, however, no such scruples. "Lady Emma and Mrs. Bridges sang an anthem in the choir one day after service, a few persons being present. The anthem was Kent's 'My song shall be of mercy and judgment.' The singing was very fine, for the compass of Lady Hamilton's voice was surprising. Dean Powys was present near the entrance to the presbytery. 'Shall I sing an anthem for the benefit of the County Hospital?' shouted her ladyship. The Dean, affecting deafness, returned no answer, and her ladyship understood him."

Of Dr. Luxmore, another prebendary of Christ Church, who became Dean of Gloucester and used to send for "auld lang syne" a present of potted lampreys for the audit dinners, Mr. Gilbert writes:

> I saw a letter from him to Dean Powys in which he earnestly deprecated the removal of the two turrets from the great gate of the churchyard. It was unavailing. The true story of their removal is this. My father was one day in the bank of Simmons and Gipps at the corner of St. Margaret Street; Alderman Simmons and Jesse White (then cathedral surveyor) were present. The exact time of day was asked by the Alderman, who said, "If those turrets of the cathedral gate were away we should see the church clock from the bank door. Can't you pull them down, Jesse?" "It shall be done," replied Jesse; and it was done. They were reported to be insecure and too heavy for the gate, and down they came. Jesse White put up the wooden pinnacles to the nave of the cathedral. The plea was economy, yet wood was then as dear as stone. He was clever as a surveyor, and a man of substance in body and in pocket.


Louis Weirter.

The Nave

Gilbert tells us that in his early days

> the dean and canons entered the choir, except when the archbishop was present, by the west door. The dean led the way and entered his stall first; the canons on his side passed round to their seats by the south entrance to the stalls. The canons on the vice-dean's side entered *juniores priores*, the vice-dean and senior waiting for them. No canon on leaving his stall passed the dean; each went out to pulpit or altar the other way. Not so on the vice-dean's side, whose seat rises on hinges so that he may be passed.
>
> The junior canon, unless preacher, usually took the ante-communion office on Sundays, with a minor canon. But I observed that when we had a new canon, Dr. Welfitt generally went to the altar. His object was to show the newcomer that it was needful to turn and bow reverently *versus stallum decani*, as the statutes say. Why is this done? It is, as it were, to ask the superior's permission and blessing, given by the return bow, before proceeding to the office.
>
> When the archbishop preached, the dean and vice-dean took the office, and then conducted the archbishop to the pulpit. There was a bad custom for the celebrants (*sic*) to leave the altar and go to their stalls at the beginning of the Nicene Creed. At the visitation of Archbishop Manners-Sutton the Dean and vice-Dean came down and stood bowing opposite the throne, ready to conduct his Grace to the pulpit. The verger opened the door, but the Archbishop took no notice, keeping his eyes fixed on his book. At the end of the Creed he looked up, acknowledged their salute, and went with them to the pulpit. Dean Andrews took the reproof nobly, and determined to make an end of a bad custom. "For," said he, "I never felt a rebuke so keenly in my life. It was a just rebuke and admirably administered. I was quite ashamed of myself as I stood there before the congregation convicted of a great fault."

Dean Percy's tenure of office, from 1825 to 1827, in spite of its brevity, brought changes of importance. Of the four annual fairs held in the precincts during the Middle Ages, the only one surviving was that at Michaelmas. This was permitted for the last time in 1826, and by its removal to the Cattle Market lost much of its mediæval aspect and association.

In the fabric itself perhaps the most important change was that made in the position of the altar. The heavy oak reredos which had been erected by Burrough in 1732 was now taken down, and the altar was moved back to the top of the flight of steps leading to St. Augustine's chair. The patriarchal seat, which had retained its primitive position throughout all the changes and chances of at least seven centuries and possibly much longer, was relegated to the south-east transept.

Behind the altar a light stone screen with panels of glass was set up, which Mr. Beresford Hope called "the specimen in confectionary Perpendicular which the late Mr. Austin inflicted on Canterbury." But although the work was poor enough from the architectural point of view, the screen had this merit, that it did not shut out the fine vista of the Trinity Chapel behind it.

Ten years later, in 1836, the wainscot panelling which concealed Eastry's lateral choir-screens was removed and the latter repaired and glazed. This, from some points of view, was a doubtful improvement, for the seventeenth-century woodwork was excellent in its way; but happily the elaborately carved return stalls at the west end of the choir were spared, and much of the rest is still stored away in the precincts.

The rebuilding of the north-western or Arundel tower was also undertaken about this period. In 1824 the tower was thought to be in a dangerous condition, and the Chapter called in Mr. Thomas Hopper, a London architect, to report upon it. The report is worth quoting at some length, not only because it gives a specific account of the state of Lanfranc's work after a lapse of eight centuries, but also as showing that in the judgment of an expert it was capable and worthy of preservation :

> The foundations are sound, so also are the inner ashlar and pillars. The external ashlar, excepting the part above the top water table, is flawed in many places and the surface is nearly gone. The rubble work, composing the core, is very defective, and split in many parts. The projecting angle of the tower is cracked in several places, and many of the stones are crushed. The upper part of the Tower is split on each of its four sides, and the angle next to the side aisle is not perpendicular. The outer wall on the sides has several cracks and the columns and jambs

> of the windows are crushed. Part of the staircase is broken by the settlement in the outer wall. Many of the steps have fallen, and several more are in a crippled state. . . . The wall on the west side has been much injured by the iron tie-bar. . . . Much of the present defective state of the tower is owing to the manner in which it was built. The core is composed of small stones mixed with bad lime and rubbish, without binding stones or through courses. . . . Injury has been done to the tower by the introduction of the pointed arches. A sufficient substance of wall was not left at the angles to form a butment to resist the pressure of the arches, and the effect of that deficiency has been increased by the removal of the spire, the weight of which pressing upon the angles of the tower acts as a butment for that purpose. . . .

The surveyor then mentions various repairs which would in his opinion render the tower safe for many years, and concludes thus:

> Under all circumstances, the surveyors do not recommend the taking down of the tower, which, notwithstanding its defects, is an interesting relic of the most ancient style of ecclesiastical architecture.

Mr. Hopper, in his respect for antiquity seems to have been in advance of his time, and it must be a matter for regret now that his advice was not followed. Nothing, however, was done for some years, but in 1831 the Dean and Chapter decided to pull down the old tower and rebuild it from the foundations. For this purpose an Act of Parliament was obtained, by which the Dean and Chapter were empowered to raise £20,000 by mortgage on their estates, with power to raise a further sum of £5000 if required; the money to be paid off by annual instalments in forty years. It was found necessary to raise the extra £5000, and the total cost of the tower was £24,515, of which sum the expenses of obtaining the Act of Parliament amounted to £733, and the cost of pulling down the old tower to £607. The new work was designed and executed by George Austin, surveyor and architect to the dean and chapter, and the foundations were so well laid that it has never shown any sign of a settlement; but the Caen stone of which it is built has become so much disintegrated, either because it was imperfectly "weathered" after removal from the quarry or through exposure to the fumes of the Cathedral Gasworks, which for many years were placed near the foot of the tower, that in little more than seventy years it has been found necessary to give the tower practically a new skin.

It is worthy of mention that "in excavating for the foundations of the new tower the ground was found to be boggy, and piles had to be driven in. Whilst the men were digging they came across the skeletons of a man and two oxen, all of which were in an upright position. If we imagine that the man was an early Briton driving the bullocks, and was swamped in trying to cross the bog or to extricate the animals, we shall probably be somewhere near the truth."[1]

While the rebuilding of the Arundel tower was in progress and a new epoch in the administration of cathedral revenues was at hand, events were happening which boded ill for the Church of England. In 1832 Archbishop Howley was mobbed in the streets of Canterbury on account of his opposition in the House of Lords to the great Reform Bill; for the days of democratic bishops were not yet. The crowd was numerous and violent and the Primate had a narrow escape of being dragged from his carriage. But thanks to the courage of a magistrate and the adroitness of his Grace's coachman and footman, the deanery was reached in safety. In 1833 the flight of white veined marble steps and the black-and-white marble pavement in the presbytery, which had been given in 1732 by Dorothea Nixon and her nephew, were superseded by the existing French black marble. The repair of the cloister (with somewhat inferior stone) was completed in 1834, and a mural tablet in the north alley inscribed with a record of Dr. Peel's generosity. In 1840 the cemetery gate, sometimes

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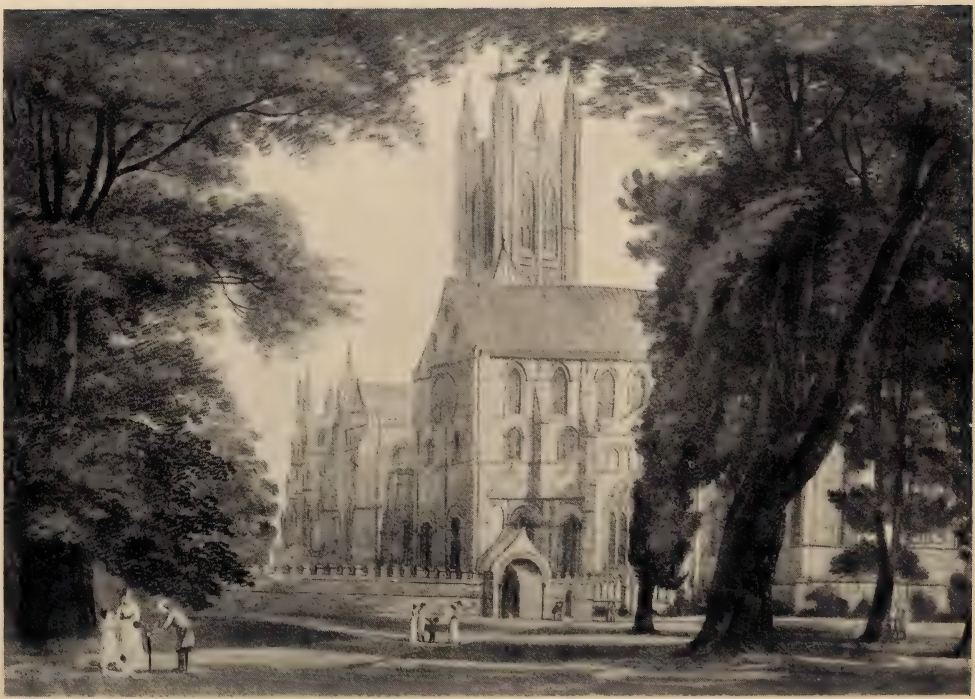
[1] "Chronological History of Canterbury," by G. S., Canterbury 1883, p. 351.



THE CATHEDRAL FROM THE "OAKS"
Showing the Cemetery Gate and Wall, removed in 1840

The Archbishop's Throne

called the sanctuary gate, together with the embattled wall which stretched from the south-west corner of St. Anselm's chapel to the old plumbery, and was formerly the boundary between the burial-ground of the monks (to the east) and that of the lay folk (to the west), was taken down. The gateway was re-erected in its present position as the entrance to the bowling green.[1]

In 1844 the throne given by Archbishop Tenison in 1704 with its massive oaken columns and Renaissance carvings was removed to the south-east transept and replaced by Archbishop Howley's gift of stone tabernacle work designed by George Austin. The change was in harmony with the prevalent notion that only gothic design should be permitted in a gothic building ; but whether it was an improvement is perhaps open to debate.

In 1846 the present unpretentious stone pulpit in the choir was erected from the plans of Mr. Butterfield.

In 1848 Archbishop Howley died, and was buried in Addington churchyard ; but a cenotaph with his recumbent effigy was placed on the north side of the presbytery between the tombs of Archbishops Chicheley and Bourchier. Part of Prior Eastry's screen was removed to make room for this monument, and in 1872 was re-erected at the entrance to St. Andrew's Chapel. The new Primate, John Bird Sumner, was the first Archbishop who had been enthroned, excepting by proxy, for a hundred and thirty-three years, and for this reason the ceremony calls for special notice. It was justly felt to be the beginning of a new order of things, and though the day was cold and wet the crowd of worshippers and spectators was too great for even the great spaces of the cathedral. One is tempted to compare it with the account of Archbishop Manners-Sutton's enthronement as given by Prebendary Gilbert in his Reminiscences. "It took place," he says, "in 1805. Dr. Wilson was proxy for the Archbishop-elect, Dr. Wellfitt for Archdeacon Radcliffe, and Dr. Walesby and Minor Canon Freeman for the Dean and Chapter." It was an affair of proxies altogether, and must have been a singularly unimpressive ceremonial. Gilbert tells us that "the patriarchal chair then stood in Becket's Crown. The members of the choir proceeded by the north and south aisles to the spot, from which the congregation were excluded. Many rushed up to the altar and gazed through the window in the screen (*see* Plate on p. 348), and kept their places there (that is, behind and about the holy table) when, the procession having returned, the service was resumed."

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[1] In mediæval times the following parishes had a right to bury in Christ Churchyard : St. Michael Burgate, St. Mary Queningate, St. Mary Bredman, and St. Alphege also the inmates of St. Thomas's Hospital at Eastbridge.

We have ranged rapidly over the events great and small of the first half of the century, and purposely held in reserve what was in some respects the most momentous of them all. In 1836 there came into being by Act of Parliament the Ecclesiastical Commission, which by its efficient administration of Church revenues and its influence with the Legislature has wrought such marvellous reforms. Prince-bishops, "golden stalls," scandalous pluralities, wholesale nepotism have fled before its face, and for three-quarters of a century the poor and crowded parishes have been nourished by resources which were formerly shared among the friends of the politically or socially great. At Canterbury the number of prebendaries was reduced as vacancies occurred from twelve to six, and large appropriations were made from the property both of the Chapter and of the See towards the needs of the Church elsewhere. The annual income of the cathedral for all purposes, on an average for the three years ending November 24, 1831, was returned to the

Commissioners as £21,551. It must occasionally have been larger than this, for £29,000 had been recently expended in repairs, exclusive of provision for the interest and repayment of the £25,000 expended in rebuilding the north-west tower. The Commissioners in their final arrangement left to the Chapter estates estimated to yield £17,500 a year for the total upkeep of the cathedral and staff, appropriating the surplus to their general fund. Of this something will be said hereafter.

The reduction in the number of prebendaries, or canons as they are now usually termed, led to some beneficial changes in the aspect of the precincts. Where twelve residences had been required, only six became necessary, and the least desirable of those which had been constructed among and out of the monastic buildings were demolished. Thus, the houses near the east end of the cathedral, and south of what was called the "Brick-walk," were pulled down together with the boundary wall which enclosed the corona, and the south arcade of the infirmary and infirmary chapel exposed to view. When, however, we delight in this line of picturesque arches with their suggestions of the middle age and grudge their long burial in commonplace masonry, let us bear in mind that but for the mean use they happened to serve they would almost certainly have been destroyed as "superfluous buildings."

In Dean Lyall's time (1845-57) much work was done on the exterior of the cathedral. Mention has been made of Jesse White, who was surveyor in the early part of the century, and who procured the destruction of the turrets of the Christ Church gate. If he had lived to the age of Methuselah, it is conceivable that our descendants would have had a wooden cathedral. He had already provided wooden pinnacles to the nave, wooden frames for several of the windows, and a wooden gable to the north-east transept. All this rubbish was replaced by stone (not always of the best quality); the cracked bells in the Oxford steeple, which for many years had been silent for fear of danger to the adjoining old Norman tower, were recast and rehung and a new clock fixed in connection with them.

Dean Lyall died in 1857, and the advent of Dean Alford was the signal for a series of changes not only in the fabric and precincts, but also in the relation of the cathedral to the religious needs of the city and of the Church at large. Hitherto there had been only one sermon on Sunday, and always in the morning. The dean had preached three times in the year. There was no evening service until it was instituted many years later by Dean Payne Smith. Alford's first reform was an afternoon sermon. Chapters are proverbially conservative, and the innovation was so strongly opposed that the Dean carried his point only by undertaking to be the preacher—a promise faithfully performed, sometimes at the cost of inopportune journeys and fatigues. The public responded with great congregations, and thus began that improved relationship between cathedral and city which since those days has, we believe, become cordial.

In 1862 the Ecclesiastical Commissioners granted a sum of £20,000 towards the reparation of the fabric, and associated their architect, Mr. Christian, with Mr. H. G. Austin, the cathedral surveyor, in the superintendence of the work. The Dean and his architects set to work with much energy and the best intentions on "the choir roof and the south-western tower with a portion of the west front"; but it is to be feared that the mantle of the mediæval builders had not fallen even on this galaxy of virtue and ability. Having enriched their restored tower with much third-rate statuary by Theodore Pfyffers, a Belgian sculptor, and having decided to light the cathedral with gas, they planted their gasworks close under the west front, providing in this way corrosive fumes to injure the new work on both towers, while not omitting a constant offence to sight and smell. Happily, the gasworks disappeared nearly thirty years ago, and the decay of structure resulting from them and from the use of a poor quality of stone is being carefully and, as we hope, permanently remedied at the present time under the superintendence of Mr. Caröe, F.S.A., architect to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners and to the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury.

Mention may be made of other works executed under the indefatigable Dean Alford. The King's School buildings in the Mint Yard,[1] with a new gateway and porter's lodge at the entrance from Northgate; the removal of the ceiling in St. Andrew's Chapel; the restoration of the south staircase turret; the building of a parapet (borrowed as to pattern from Lincoln Cathedral) along the eaves of the choir roof, on the south side; the conversion of the old Brewhouse in the Green Court into a choristers' school; the substitution of the present stone stairway (copied from the pulpit stairs in Chester Cathedral) for a wooden one from the infirmary cloister to the north transept; and finally the new library, of which we give a description elsewhere.

One records not without regret that the Cheker building, which in the later stages of its career had served as a school for the choristers, was pulled down in 1868—one more fragment of the Middle Age lost to us and to posterity!

Although Alford did not always show artistic judgment in dealing with the fabric, he was nevertheless a great dean, of immense and beneficent activity as writer, preacher, and man of affairs, zealous for the spiritual influence of his great church, and full of tolerance and kindliness. He died in 1871, and over his grave in St. Martin's churchyard are these words written by himself: *Diversorium viatoris Hierosolyman proficiscentis* (The resting-place of a traveller on his way to Jerusalem).

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[1] For an account of the new buildings for the King's School see the "History of the King's School," by Woodruff and Cape, London, 1908.

Robert Payne Smith was dean for twenty-four years (1871–95); Frederic W. Farrar for eight (1895–1903); and it is now nine since the accession of Dean Wace. During this time an increasing zeal for the fabric and services of the church has wrought great changes; the momentum given by Alford has grown with the years.

In 1879 the pews which dated from the days of Queen Anne were removed from the choir to make way for the existing stalls, which were designed by Sir Gilbert Scott. The new stalls cost £8000, and although open to criticism, they are undoubtedly an improvement on the old pewing. At the same time, or a little later, a new altar was erected, of dignified proportions. The panels of mosaic work which decorate the front were made in Venice after figures by Fra Angelico, and were the gift of the Rev. George Pearson, an honorary canon. The retable is of stalagmite and alabaster, inlaid with rare marbles.

In 1883 an ancient folio Bible from the library was placed upon the wooden desk in the north choir aisle. The making of this desk in 1541 is recorded in the cathedral archives. It was here that "Cranmer's Bible," the Bible of "the largest volume," was placed by royal injunction in the above year. It has been conjectured that the recess in which the desk is placed was intended to serve for the Easter sepulchre. But as there is another such recess at the west end of the same aisle, it seems more likely that both formerly contained presses in which the service books were kept in monastic times.

To Dean Payne Smith belongs the credit of having established the Sunday evening service and sermon, which have been much appreciated by the citizens.

Twice, however, in his time the cathedral narrowly escaped irretrievable disaster. In 1872 the upsetting of a plumber's brasier of burning charcoal set fire to the roof of the Trinity Chapel; for an hour and a half no water was available, and the entire roof east of the chapels of St. Anselm and St. Andrew was destroyed. Happily the stone vaulting stood firm, and though molten lead rained through some of its crevices, the interior took no great harm. At length by the aid of eighty troopers from the barracks, the local volunteer fire brigade under Captain W. G. Pidduck, and the hose of the Phœnix Insurance Office, the fire was subdued. Honourable mention should be made of Mr. George Delasaux, who at great risk broke through one of the clerestory windows and brought water effectually to bear on the flames. His act was a fine instance of the repayment by a descendant of French refugees of the debt of his ancestors.

In 1876, when the clock in the Oxford steeple was being cleaned, and the benzoline used for the purpose was brought too near a lighted lamp, the adjacent woodwork took fire. It was extinguished by the presence of mind of one of the cathedral workmen, who tore down the clock-case and so prevented the spread of the flames; but two lives were lost in this unfortunate affair.

A mistake of judgment may occasionally do more permanent harm than a great fire. It was during Dean Payne Smith's tenure of office that the Ecclesiastical Commissioners offered to take over all cathedral estates, guaranteeing in return an annual income adequate to the upkeep of the cathedrals and the payment of all the officials. The Canterbury Chapter was one of those which declined the proposal, and which therefore suffered severely by the subsequent fall in rents and in the value of tithe. Since the stipends of minor canons, lay clerks and lesser officials could not reasonably be reduced, the whole brunt of the loss therefore fell on the members of the chapter, whose incomes at one time decreased by nearly one half, and on the provision for the upkeep of the fabric of the church. The able and economical administration of cathedral affairs initiated by the late seneschal, Colonel Dickenson, did much to retrieve the financial position; but for some twenty years the dean and canons have foregone a considerable part of their incomes in order to provide for the maintenance of the buildings and services. In addition to this, all fees for showing the cathedral have, after payment of the necessary guides, been allotted to the fabric fund; but although the amount of money received from this source is considerable, it would have been quite insufficient for the general upkeep had not outside aid been invoked from time to time. Thus Dean Farrar raised by voluntary contributions nearly £20,000 With Sir Arthur Blomfield as his architect he restored the crypt and the chapter house, repaired the cloisters, and, at a cost of £700, erected new altar-rails of early Renaissance design in massive brasswork on a plinth of black Belgian marble. The restored chapter house was declared open on the morning of May 29, 1897, by the Prince of Wales, afterwards King Edward VII; and in the afternoon of the same day Sir Henry Irving read there to a crowded audience Tennyson's drama *Becket.*

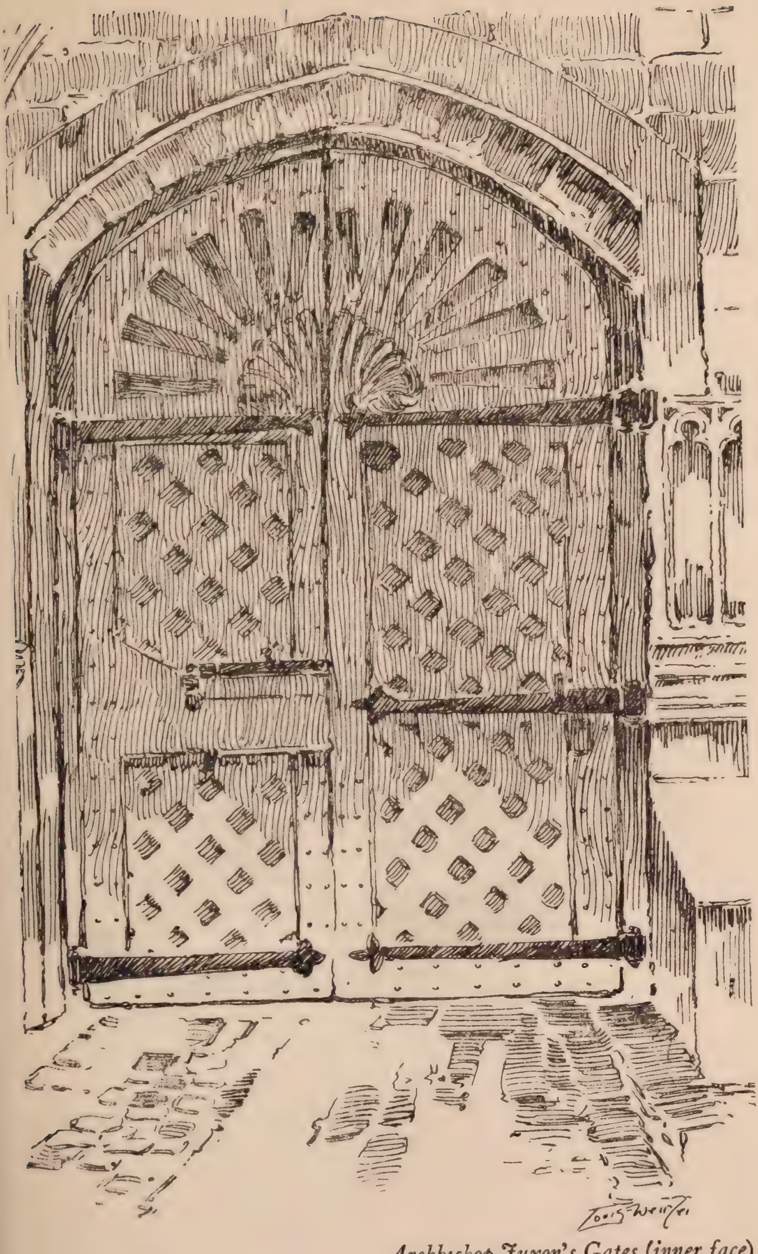
The national character of the response to Dean Farrar's appeal is illustrated by the fact that Queen Victoria, the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, and three Premiers or ex-Premiers were among the contributors. Since 1903 Dean Wace has added to the Reparation Fund no less than £27,000 from all parts of the country, and has rendered to the fabric the most important and judicious service it has received since the Reformation. With Mr. Caröe as the successor of Sir Arthur Blomfield, he has secured, we trust, for coming generations the magnificent central tower. The north-western tower has been treated in similar fashion, and the Oxford steeple is now (1912) undergoing repair. The hard and durable Doulting stone has been used for replacement where decay has made necessary the removal of any of the old Caen blocks. About £15,000 has been spent on Bell Harry and £9000 on the Arundel tower.

The elevation of Dr. Temple to the primacy brought about further changes. It had long been felt that it was an anomalous thing that the archbishop should have no place of residence in his cathedral city. Archbishop Temple's first care on his accession in 1896 was to provide a home for himself and his successors close to the cathedral and therefore at the centre of diocesan organisation and activity. The sale of Addington Palace produced funds; Mr. Caröe was the architect. The house, in which every available scrap of the previous ruin is incorporated, contains a chapel and the great reception rooms for diocesan and other gatherings. It occupies the site, though not the whole site, of the former palace rebuilt by Archbishop Parker, and communicates, as in Becket's days, with the north-west corner of the cloister by the doorway through which he went to his death. The "Old Palace," as the new one is called, is an admirable piece of work, excellently done, and perhaps we may be allowed to add most hospitably used.

The architect and the mason during these busy years were seconded by the goldsmith, the brass-founder, the embroiderer and the decorator. As far back as 1887 Canon Rawlinson had presented (at the time anonymously) a silver-gilt altar cross elaborately jewelled; and a little later he gave the two great brass candelabra which stand in front of the holy table on either side. To these he added in 1898 a magnificent chalice and paten, the former set with diamonds, opals and amethysts, and embossed with symbolical figures.

Cardinal Morton, towards the end of the fifteenth century, gave to Christ Church a sumptuous herse-cloth or funeral pall, which disappeared in the subsequent pillage. This was replaced in 1899 by one scarcely less splendid, the gift of fifty-four ladies of Kent, to whom Oxford University lent as pattern a possibly unique example at least three hundred years

The "Old Palace"



Archbishop Juxon's Gates (inner face)

old. A complete set of Eucharistic vestments exactly copied from those at Sens, reputed to have belonged to Becket, was an anonymous gift in the same year, of the estimated value of £300. Among other freewill offerings of what was once called " vestry stuff " are the beautiful altar-frontals and super-frontals given by Mrs. Rawlinson and a company of ladies.

In 1898 a very handsome pulpit of carved oak was erected in the nave as a memorial to Dean Payne Smith. The design, which was furnished by Mr. Bodley, has met with general approval, and by some competent judges the pulpit has been pronounced to be the finest work of its kind executed since the Reformation. Unfortunately, the acoustic properties of the nave are not such as to encourage the preaching of sermons there ; but at Canterbury there is less need than elsewhere to utilise the nave for special services, since the accommodation afforded in the choir is exceptionally large.

The scope of our book does not allow us to give more than a passing reference to the men who beyond others have made the name of Canterbury once more a household word throughout the English-speaking world. It must suffice here to say that during the last half-century the see has been filled by a succession of great and devoted archbishops, and their influence and leadership have been felt not only by the church and nation at home but by the whole Anglican communion. Tait lies in effigy in the north choir transept ; the effigies of Benson and Temple are likewise in the cathedral, though divided by the whole length of it, and they both sleep in cathedral ground, one in the nave and the other in the cloister garth.[1] At their enthronement, if they did not come with troops of mounted men, as in the great days of old, to be met by the knights and esquires and city fathers three miles from the city, at least it was not as in the eighteenth century, a half-hearted affair of proxies. They were welcomed and prayed for by thousands, and hearts are better than horsemen. When they died they were mourned as leaders and fathers of their flock. Their lives are a part, and no inglorious part, of the history of their country. The fifth Lambeth Conference in 1908, when two hundred bishops from all parts of the world met for worship in Canterbury Cathedral, is some measure of the progress of the church, of the work of its primates, and of the feeling entertained at home and overseas towards the ancient cathedral.

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[1] Until Dr. Benson was laid to rest beneath the north-western tower in 1896 no Archbishop of Canterbury had been buried in his cathedral church since Cardinal Pole was interred in the corona. Of the sixty-seven pre-Reformation Archbishops, eleven were buried at St. Augustine's, forty-six in Canterbury Cathedral, and one in each of the following churches : Abingdon, Jumieges, Winchester, Bath and St.

The nineteenth century at Canterbury was marked by none of the violent changes and tragic episodes of the sixteenth and seventeenth ; yet it may be doubted whether these earlier periods witnessed developments more remarkable. From vandalism and destructive ignorance to the loving care and study of all ancient work ; from nepotism and scandalous pluralities to a conscientious exercise of patronage ; from slack and (it is to be feared) slovenly observance to the full tide of ordered prayer and praise ; from neglect of the fabric to a zealous if not always judicious regard for both its outward and inward glories ; from an official lethargy bordering on paralysis to the labour and sacrifice which have made the cathedral a centre of life not only for the city, the diocese and the country, but for the whole Anglican communion—these are indeed great changes, and they belong chiefly to the nineteenth century.

W. D.

Gemma. One (Baldwin) died in the Holy Land, and one (Cranmer) was burnt at Oxford.

CHAPTER XVII

THE LIBRARY

CANTERBURY in the Middle Ages possessed two collections of books which in extent and general importance could scarcely be rivalled in any other English city. These, of course, were housed respectively in the cathedral library of Christ Church and in that attached to the abbey of St. Augustine. Traditionally the origin of both is associated with the name of Archbishop Theodore;[1] and there can be no doubt that the learned Greek Archbishop brought books with him into England. Archbishop Parker believed that he was the happy possessor of certain works which Theodore brought to Canterbury; notably of a Homer upon the first leaf of which the name Theodore does actually occur in large gold letters. The book is now preserved in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, to which society Parker bequeathed the volume (together with the rest of his books), believing it to be one of the *primitiæ* of the cathedral library. Unfortunately this opinion can no longer be maintained; indeed, it is somewhat surprising that it could ever have been current, since the character of the script gives clear proof that the book was written in the fifteenth instead of the seventh century, and the name is therefore merely that of a former possessor.

Of the extent of the library of Christ Church during

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[1] Twyne in his tract entitled *De rebus Albionicis*, published in 1590, refers to the library of Christ Church as "ipsa celeberrima bibliotheca a Theodoro instituta," p. 114.

Anglo-Saxon times little is known. What notices there are refer to the gifts of kings: thus, Athelstan gives the Gospels of Mac-Durnan, and Canute a splendid copy of the Gospels. These royal gifts were service books; but doubtless there were others, since in the earliest extant lists the titles of a good many books in the vernacular occur, some of which may have been acquired before the Conquest. But whatever may have been the extent of the library in Anglo-Saxon times, much loss must have been suffered by the disastrous fire of 1067, even if we accept with some reserve Eadmer's statement that the devouring flames made nearly a clean sweep of the books "whether sacred or profane." Thus it would seem that the mediæval library, like so much else at Christ Church, dates from the days of Lanfranc, who was not only a donor of books, but also a framer of rules for their use. These rules are contained in the Archbishop's *Constitutions*, and are worth quoting at length:

"On monday before the first Sunday in Lent, before the brethren come into the chapter house, the librarian shall have a carpet laid down, and all books got together upon it, except those which a year previously had been assigned for reading. These the brethren are to bring with them when they come to the chapter house, each his book in his hand. . . . Then the librarian shall read a statement as to the manner in which the brethren have had books during the past year. As each brother hears his name pronounced he is to give back the book which has been entrusted to his reading, and he whose conscience accuses him of not having read the book through which he had received is to fall on his face, confess his fault, and entreat forgiveness. . . . The librarian shall then make a fresh distribution of the books, namely, a different volume to each brother for his reading."

The earliest extant list of books in the library of

Christ Church was discovered by Dr. Montagu James in the University Library at Cambridge, at the end of a twelfth-century copy of the *Music and Arithmetic* of Boethius.[1] This list contains 223 entries, but is only a fragment, and Dr. James estimates that there were from 600 to 700 volumes in the presses. The earliest complete catalogue which has come down to us is now preserved amongst the Cottonian MSS. in the British Museum (Galba iv). It was compiled in the time of Prior Henry of Eastry (1284–1331), and enumerates 1831 volumes, containing 4157 treatises. An examination of this list shows that although theology and canon law are the strongest sections, the library was strong in classics and respectably furnished with books on science and history.

Out of the whole collection, Dr. James has been able to identify 182 volumes as still existing in various libraries. But, alas! only six remain upon the shelves at Canterbury. The question now arises, where was this extensive collection of books housed? The late Mr. J. W. Clarke—a great authority on mediæval libraries—in an article contributed to the journal of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society,[2] says: "So far as my researches have yet proceeded, I conceive that presses in the cloister were found sufficiently large to contain most monastic libraries until the end of the fourteenth or the beginning of the fifteenth centuries." But there is evidence that Christ Church possessed a separate apartment or *Bibliotheca* at a much earlier date. This evidence is contained in a memorandum in one of the monastic registers[3] made when Eastry was prior, to the effect that an allowance of a loaf of "monks' bread" and half a gallon of small beer should be given to the sacrist's servant whenever he carried books from the library (*de libraria*) to the chapter house for the annual inspection (*ad monstrandum*). The position of this library is uncertain, but Mr. St. John Hope has suggested that it may have been situated at the east end of the *slype* or narrow passage berween the church and the chapter house; and he points out that the two recesses in the wall of the latter building—which have only been filled up in modern times—may have contained presses for books.[1] At Worcester, also a Benedictine foundation, there are two similar recesses which have also been described as *armaria* for storing books.[2]

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[1] *The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover*, M. R. James, Cambridge, 1903.

[2] Vol. viii. p. 360.

[3] Register J. f. 514.

In the circumstance that the duty of fetching the books was entrusted to a servant of the sacrist we may perhaps trace a survival from the time when the monastery possessed few books besides those used in the services of the church; since service-books—except those in daily use—would be kept in the sacrist's house.

An account of one of the annual inspections of books, taken in 1337, when Richard Oxenden was prior, is to be found in Register I. f. 104. It appears that the privilege of borrowing was not confined to the monks but was extended to Canterbury students at Oxford, and also to secular persons. Thus, among the defaulters in 1337 is the name of the unfortunate monarch Edward II, who had been dead for ten years. He had borrowed from Christ Church the Miracles of St. Thomas, his Life and that of St. Anselm, and the books, apparently, were never returned.

Wherever the old library may have been situated, a new one was built by Archbishop Chicheley in the fifteenth century over the prior's chapel. It must have been nearly finished in 1444, since in that year one Richard Salkyer, a London glazier, was paid

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[1] *Inventories of Christ Church, Canterbury.*

[2] "Mediæval Libraries," T. W. Williams. *Bristol Antiquarian Society's Transactions*, vol. xxix. p. 209, p. 144.

76s. 8d. for glazing the windows.[1] About 1475 Prior Sellinge added an ornamental ceiling and furniture. Thirty-three years later (1508) brother William Ingram made a careful review of the books in order to ascertain their condition. He has left a detailed record of his proceedings, from which source we learn that he went round the room shelf by shelf noting the volumes which required new "bynding," "bordyng," or "chenyng." From the fact that the titles of the defective volumes (*libri debiles*) fill fifteen columns of his notebook some idea may be formed of the extent of the whole collection.[2] From the particulars contained in this memorandum Mr. J. W. Clarke was able to reconstruct the general arrangement of the presses, shelves and benches. There were, he tells us, two rows of eight presses, each having two shelves, placed at right angles to the walls, with their accompanying benches and desks for readers. This arrangement still exists in the ancient library of Merton College, Oxford, which was fitted up by William Read, bishop of Chichester, in the second half of the fourteenth century.

It must be remembered that the prior's chapel over which Chicheley's library was built occupied precisely the same site as the room which at the present day contains the Howley-Harrison collection of books, and that therefore the library above it had exactly the same floor space as that apartment. Access to the library was obtained by means of a narrow staircase in a gallery outside the passage leading from the lavatory tower to the transept of the church. This staircase, which ascended northwards to a door in the south-west corner of the library, has long since been pulled down, but is plainly shown in the plan drawn for Dugdale's *Monasticon.*

For the upkeep of the library the prior and convent held estates in land and tithe. Thus the rectory of

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[1] Treasurers' Accounts, *sub anno.*

[2] Christ Church MSS. C. xi. (3).

Halstow, near Sittingbourne, was granted to the monks of Christ Church by Archbishop Hubert Walter in order that the profits of the benefice might be devoted "to the emendation and repair of the books of their library, reserving to the vicar of the parish an annual stipend of five marks." A further endowment was a small estate called Crumbesfield, which was conveyed to the priory by Alfred de Gare in 1230.[1] In Benedictine foundations the care of the books was part of the duties of the precentor. This officer does not come very prominently into view in the archives of Christ Church, but from the custumal of St. Augustine's Abbey we learn that he and his deputy, the succentor, were to have each his desk in the cloister near the book presses, and that they were to be ready at all times to give assistance to readers.

Whether the *Scriptorium* or writing-room where books were copied and ornamented at Christ Church was in the cloister or elsewhere is uncertain, since the records say nothing about the matter. If this highly skilled work were done in the cloister, the western alley would have been the most eligible, since the southern one appears to have been frequented by the novices whose marks and diagrams cut upon the stone bench for their games with marbles may still be seen; and the eastern and western alleys were much used as thoroughfares. Whenever the *Scriptorium* was in the cloister the arrangement was as follows: at each end of the alley a screen was placed for greater privacy. Along the inner wall were fixed oak cupboards with strong locks and hinges to receive the books; and on the outer side was a row of little wooden box-like rooms, called *carrels*, each of which was devoted to the use of one scribe. Two of these *carrels* probably went to each bay or compartment of the cloister. They were commonly made of wainscot oak, about six feet by eight feet in plan, or even less—just big enough to hold the seated scribe and his large desk on which rested the manuscript he was copying and the one he was writing, with some extra shelf-space for his black and red ink horns, his colours and other implements. In the twelfth century and earlier the monastic *Scriptorium* of Christ Church was famous, and its productions rivalled those of Winchester and St. Albans. Eadwin's English copy of the Utrecht Psalter preserved in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Herbert of Bosham's commentary on the Psalms, in the Bodleian, are both splendid specimens of the skill of the Canterbury scribes. But it is doubtful whether any of the volumes which are still on the shelves of the cathedral library were actually written in the Canterbury *Scriptorium*, though about a score certainly once belonged to Christ Church monks.

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[1] *Chartæ Antiquæ*, Christ Church, Canterbury, H. 91 and C. 1262.

Amongst the treasures once possessed but not produced by the Monks of Christ Church, we may mention the so-called Psalter of St. Augustine, now amongst the Cottonian MSS. in the British Museum (Vespasian A.1), which for many centuries belonged to Christ Church, Canterbury. It was written in the eighth century, and the ornamentation is apparently by two hands, the figures being painted by an Italian illuminator, and the borders by an English or Irish monk. Another magnificent book which was once in the library of Christ Church is the *Codex Aüreus*, now preserved in the Royal Library at Stockholm. This is a book of the Gospels, written on alternate leaves of purple vellum, the text on which is of golden letters. It was written in the eighth century, and both in general style and in the splendour of its ornaments it closely resembles the Lindisfarne Gospels of St. Cuthbert.[2] A note on the margin of the first page of St. Matthew's Gospel records that the book was stolen by Norse pirates, and that Alfred, an

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[1] *Illuminated MSS.* T. W. Middleton, Cambridge 1892.

[2] Middleton, *op. cit.*

English ealdorman, purchased it about the year 850, in order to rescue it from pagan hands, and that he then presented it to the cathedral church of Canterbury. The Gospels of MacDurna, now in the archiepiscopal library at Lambeth, is another celebrated book which was for many centuries in the cathedral library at Canterbury, though not a product of the Christ Church *Scriptorium.*

It would seem that the Canterbury school of scribes and illuminators declined at a comparatively early date, since very few books written later than the second half of the thirteenth century bear the marks which palæographers have associated with the work of Canterbury scribes. Probably the wealth of the convent and the fact that a large number of books were required led to the employment of those professional artists who in the early years of the thirteenth century were already beginning to form themselves into guilds and to ply for custom at the doors of the various religious houses. By the rules of these guilds a high standard of technical skill was exacted from the members, but from professional scribes and illuminators the same perfection of treatment could not be expected as from men who, labouring for the glory of God or the reputation of their monastery, could devote years of patient toil to one book, and found in their work the chief joy and relaxation of their lives.[1]

Unfortunately, the Canterbury archives do not throw any light upon the *Scriptorium* until towards the end of the fifteenth century, when we do get a few particulars relating to the production of books. Thus, when Thomas Goldston II. was prior (1494–1517) the convent paid no less than £60 6s. 8d. for the transcription of a book called *Rationale Divinorum.* This was done by a professional scribe; but at about the same date the ornamentation of a large choir book,

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[1] Middleton, *op. cit.* p. 141.

THE CATHEDRAL FROM THE STOUR VALLEY

called a *Lyggare*, was entrusted to an old monk (*stationarius*), who received for his pains eight pounds in money and a new cloak (*nova toga*), valued at ten shillings. The copying, however, was done in London, and cost £6 8s. A new ordinal for use in the prior's chapel appears to have been produced entirely by outside labour, the text being written by one Richard Thyrlwall, a secular priest, who was paid at the rate of 12d. per folio, and in addition received occasional "tips" or "refreshers," which are entered under the title of "*pro regardo*"; while the illumination was entrusted to two laymen who divided the work between them. The book contained forty-five folios of *uterine* vellum, for which £1 16s. 4d. was paid, and the binding cost ten shillings.

But to revert to the general history of the library. Two years before the suppression of the priory, a fire broke out in the prior's lodgings which spread to the adjoining library. The disaster occurred when the notorious Dr. Layton, one of Cromwell's inquisitors, was quartered on the prior, and, according to Leland, was caused by the Commissioners' drunken servants. The damage done to the books was limited to those contained on the shelves at the upper end of the library, so that Twyne's statement that "many thousands" of books were burnt must be an exaggeration.[1] Still, a good many were destroyed, and amongst them those which Prior Sellinge had brought from Italy, a loss which is the more to be deplored if Twyne's statement be correct that amongst them was a copy of Cicero's *De Republica*.

Of the fate of the monastic library at the time of the dissolution no record remains. Probably, with the exception of a few volumes which from their splendour or historical association may have awakened the cupidity of the King or his courtiers, the bulk of the collection was left upon the shelves. When, however, it became clear that the Reformation had come to stay, many of the books were doubtless regarded by the new governing body as merely papistical trash which might well be handed over to such amateurs as would appreciate its antiquarian value. Archbishop Parker was an enthusiastic collector of ancient books, and in order to gratify his propensity in this direction he procured an order from the Privy Council giving him a sort of roving commission to inspect and examine "such ancient Records and Monuments . . . as were heretofore preserved and recorded . . . in divers abbies." Armed with these powers, Parker or his agents obtained access to the libraries of many cathedrals of the new foundation, and probably in many cases was readily permitted to take away volumes which filled up space on the shelves and were useless and unintelligible to their owners. From his own cathedral church he seems to have gleaned extensively, since in his collections at Corpus Christi College in Cambridge several of the choicest treasures of Christ Church are to be found. It would, however, be unfair to conclude that in all cases the books were taken direct from the shelves of the library; some, we know, were recovered from the hands of private persons, who may have obtained them in all kinds of questionable ways at the break-up of the religious houses. Thus, in the "Theodore" Homer at Corpus there is a note stating that Parker bought the volume from a baker in Canterbury. Still, the fact remains that out of 482 manuscripts which Parker gave to the College forty-seven were once in the conventual library of Christ Church. Archbishop Whitgift (1583–1604) seems to have carried off a good many more, for amongst his books at Trinity College, Cambridge, are fifty MSS. which figure in Eastry's catalogue; while thirty more in the same library which also have Canterbury press marks came thither through the bequest of Dr. Nevill, who was Dean of Canterbury from 1597 to 1615. In all Dr. James has identified 130 Christ Church books in the various libraries of Cambridge University.

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[1] *De rebus Albionicis*, pp. 113, 114.

The Reformers, however, were not altogether unmindful of the advantages of cathedral libraries, and were indeed anxious that these repositories should contain an adequate supply of sound patristic literature. Thus we find the Royal Injunctions for Cathedrals issued in 1547 directing deans and chapters to "make a library in some convenient place within their church and to lay in the same St. Augustine, Basil, Gregory Nazianzen, Jerome, Ambrose, Chrysostom, Cyprian, Theophylact, Erasmus and other good writers' works."[1] At Canterbury at any rate an attempt was made to obey these injunctions, for from a memorandum preserved amongst the Chapter Archives dated 1551 we learn that the following books had been placed upon the library shelves: "*Basilius Magnus*, *Ambrosii opera* 2 vol., *Chrisostom opera* 4 vol., *Theophylact*, *Tertullianus*, *Cirilla opera* 2 vol., *Hilarius Athanasius*, *Augustini opera* 6 vol., *Ciprianus*, *Lactantius*, *Bernardi opera*, *Epiphanius latine*, *Historia ecclesiastica Eusebii*, *Greg' Nazian'*, *Biblia Roberti Stephani*, *Josephus de Antiquitibus*, *Griphionis Biblia Anglice*."

Nevertheless, by the third decade of the seventeenth century the shelves had become sadly depleted, for Somner, writing about 1640, says that though the church's library was by the founder "and others once well stored with books," it had been "in man's memory shamefully robbed and spoiled of them all—an act much prejudiciall and very injurious both to posterity and the commonwealth of letters."[2] Although there was no doubt abundant justification for Somner's strictures, his statement cannot really mean that every volume which had once formed part of the monastic library had been alienated, since an inventory made in 1634 shows that twenty-five books which are enumerated in the pre-Reformation lists were still on the shelves, and they are there to this day.[1] As a matter of fact, the dean and chapter had already waked to a sense of responsibility in the matter, for at their chapter meeting of June 23, 1628, the following resolution was passed: "That every man should do his endeavour to refurnish the ancient library of the said church. And that a book of velume should be provided wherein the names of the Benefactors should be registered, and that the two uppermost deskes should be instantly fitted for the receipt of such books as shall be first given to the encouragement of so good a work."[2] The "booke of velume" is still extant, and contains the names of thirty-one donors and the titles of 298 works. Archbishop Abbot, who died in 1633, was the chief benefactor; he is credited with forty-six volumes, duplicates probably from the Lambeth library.

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[1] See Freer's *Visitation Articles*, Alcuin Club Collections, vol. iii. p. 136.

[2] *The Antiquities of Canterbury*, p. 174.

As a further means of replenishing their shelves the chapter hit upon the expedient of demanding a book for the library from their tenants when leases were renewed; and they also set aside a part of the money accruing from fines to the same purpose. By these means good progress was being made in the collection of books, when further development was checked by the great Rebellion. In the year 1650 the trustees for the lands of deans and chapters issued the following order: "That Captain Sherman doe make a catalogue of all the Bookes in the liberarie of Canterburie, and that he take care for the speedie sending them up to Surrey (?) howse in the ould Jewrie." The dean's chapel and the library over it were certainly pulled down about this time, but it is doubtful whether the books were sent to London. If they were, it would seem that the collection was recovered *en bloc* at the Restoration, for all the books mentioned in an Inventory of 1634 and in the Gift Book purchased in 1628 are still in the library.

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[1] The list is printed in Messrs. Legg and Hope's *Inventories of Christ Church, Canterbury*, London, 1903.

[2] *Acta Capituli, sub anno*, f. 304*b*.

When the Restoration had again put the dean and chapter in possession of their church and estates, Archbishop Juxon came forward with a munificent donation of five hundred pounds "for the building, repairing or fitting up of the place formerly called the Dean's Chapel" in order that it might serve as a repository of the books. With this benefaction the red-brick building in which the Howley-Harrison collection of books is now preserved was erected, and a note in the above-mentioned "Gift Book" records that Dr. Warner, bishop of Rochester and a canon of Canterbury, gave another five hundred pounds "to make the *classis* (*shelves*) and furnish books." Nor was this all, for by his will (proved January 7, 1667) he bequeathed to the dean and chapter a further sum of six hundred pounds, "to be bestowed on books for ye late erected Library."

The Bishop's bequest enabled the dean and chapter to spend very considerable sums in the purchase of books, as the following extracts from the treasurers' accounts will show. In 1668 a bookseller named Cornelius Bee[1] was paid £151 6s. 6d., and John Crooke, a member of the same fraternity, received £91 17s. "for books for the chapter library." In the following year the MS. collections of William Somner were purchased from the antiquary's widow, who gives a receipt for £100 8s. "for certain books and a case of shelves which were my husband's in his lifetime." Forty pounds were paid to Bee in the same year, and in 1670 the chapter "laid out in books to Mr. Bee of ye Lord of Rochester's gift £250 10s." Archbishop Sancroft was also a good benefactor, for it is recorded that he gave to the chapter library at Canterbury all the duplicate volumes at Lambeth, "he buying as many more for that Library according as they were valued."

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[1] Somner, in his Preface to his Saxon Dictionary, says of Bee, "that he was a man who had deserved very well of the republic of letters, by publishing at his own care and cost many books of better note, wherein he was so industrious, as literally to answer to his name."

During the eighteenth century there was a steady increase of the collection, so that in 1802, when the first printed catalogue was issued, there were 3656 volumes on the shelves. In 1823 a valuable collection of early printed Bibles and rare liturgical books, which had been formed by the Rev. Thomas Coombe, D.D., (canon of the seventh stall from 1800 to 1822), was presented to the church by that gentleman's sons. During the next forty years the books increased so rapidly that Juxon's building was found insufficient to contain them, and a new library was built from the plans of H. G. Austin, the cathedral architect, on the site of the monastic dormitory. In order to make the new work harmonise with the ancient windows which were incorporated in its western wall, the architect adopted a pseudo-Norman style, with the result that though its details are certainly open to criticism, the room is of noble proportions, well lighted, and in every way admirably suited to its purpose. The books were removed from the old to the new library in 1868, and the former, after remaining empty for nineteen years, was refitted in 1887 to receive Archdeacon Harrison's bequest, and thenceforward has been known as the Howley-Harrison Library. This collection comprises the books bequeathed by Archbishop Howley in 1848 to the Venerable Benjamin Harrison, Archdeacon of Maidstone, and Canon of Canterbury from 1845 to 1887, and sometime his Grace's chaplain. The Archdeacon by his will left the Howley books and his own to his widow, with verbal instructions as to their disposal. In consequence of these instructions Mrs. Harrison gave the whole collection to the dean and chapter in 1887.

The Howley-Harrison library contains 11,711 volumes, and is especially rich in early printed Bibles, liturgical books and controversial tracts and pamphlets. The printed books in the chapter library number at the present time (1911) 13,600 volumes. It is open to readers each Tuesday and Friday (with occasional exceptions) from 11.15 A.M. to 1.15 P.M. when the assistant librarian is in attendance. Books may be borrowed by beneficed and licensed clergy of the diocese, and by other persons who possess the written permission of the librarian or deputy librarian. The Howley-Harrison library is not open to the public, but on days when the chapter library is open the catalogue of the former is placed on the table, and readers may borrow books by written consent of the dean or of a canon or of the deputy librarian.

The muniments of the church were not considered to be a part of the monastic library, nor were they kept there in mediæval times. At Christ Church the charters were preserved in chests in the treasury, and the monastic registers and other books relating to the domestic or rural economy of the priory either in an apartment over the old audit house or in the offices of the various *obedientiaries*. After the suppression of the monastery the bulk of the archives remained in their former depositories. Dean Wotton was fully alive to his responsibilities as custodian of these documents, and took special precautions to prevent their alienation. Thus, when in 1564 Thomas Cartwright, the well-known controversialist, made an application to view the archives, the dean (who was in London at the time) writes to the chapter that Cartwright should not be allowed to go up into the treasury, but that "the books and writings" should be laid out for his inspection "in some *aulmery* beneath the treasury house." "I would wish," the dean continues, "that Mr. Butler, who hath taken paynes and knoweth best where to fynde oute all kinds of wrytinges, with one or more were appointed to make out the said search, and to gather all the writings that shall serve for the purpose required together."

It would seem, however, that some records were concealed on the eve of the dissolution, since early in the seventeenth century a curious petition mentions the discovery of documents which had apparently been bricked up somewhere in the Cathedral. The petitioner, who was one of the minor canons and sacrist, describes how he (like Durdles in Dickens' *Edwin Drood*) was in the habit of tapping about the walls of the church with a hammer, and that in the course of his investigations he hit upon a place which sounded hollow, whereupon "he beat down the wall with a spike," and came upon a door "which was made up with breke and whytened over." Within he discovered a chamber "where were many ould writings." He then informed the canons of his discovery, but none of them were able to read the writings except Dr. Simpson, who found the documents related to land that "was not known before," and to the "composition between the King and the convent for the water of the parke." He therefore asks the dean and chapter to reward him for his services.[1]

Dr. Wotton's successors in the deanery were perhaps less careful guardians of the archives than he had been, for there is evidence that some important Christ Church MSS. had found their way into lay hands when Laud was archbishop and Bargrave was dean. Thus, in 1638 a clergyman named William Watts wrote to the dean and chapter intimating that he knew the whereabouts of several volumes which had once been in their keeping. The first sheet of this letter is missing, but the remainder is so curious and interesting that we are tempted to quote it *in extenso.* The part extant runs thus :

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[1] The petition is undated, but from internal evidence it must have been drawn up about the year 1615.

> Perhaps it was the Priories Booke, or perhaps but a transcript out of severall ones, or at least some originalls and some copies. . . . I have a firm presumption that it hath not been in y^r^ muniment house these 20 yeares, and so much you would all say should I discover where I had it. For plainly gentlemen there are other manuscripts in y^e^ same nest which some time were yours or ye moncks' before you. And one among ye rest written by a monck of ye same convent. I am to wayte upon my Lord's grace a week after ye term and then will I present y^r^ book unto him for y^r^ use, and if his Grace's leisure will serve to heare mee, I shall intymate a handsome byway how it may be fitt for him to send Mr. Bray to see some wrytings in that Librarie where when he is he may alsoe take notice of ye parchment manuscripts. Sincerely and in *verbo sacerdotis* I sometymes persuaded such as have possession of y^m^ to restore y^m^ to you. . . . In the meantyme I know gentlemen that there are many of yours in Bennet Colledge and some in Sir R. Cotton's Library, one of which myself some 26 yeares ago got for him in Cambridge. Some 3 yeares since I met with your statutes glossed and interpreted in ye margent by Kg Henry 8th's owne hand, and *Henricus Octavus* written on ye toppe of ye first page, and Matthew Parker's name in ye margent. . . . There were also written in Sir Matthew Parker's hand "Hæ sunt fere Statua Ecclesiæ Gloucestrensis," which I understand not. With these was bound a booke of ye Obites and particular places of burialls of ye Priors and some Archbishops which have noe tombes, or lye not under them, with ye precise distances from ye severall Altars, walls or pillars that they were interred. And in an ancient hand (which made me most of all desyre it) were ye formes of ye consecration of your church and of ye instalment of Archbishop Richard Withersted, if I read it right. The booke was an inch and half thick, bound in printed leather with 2 claspes in a small folio. I read 2 hours in it. The Bookseller asked me 20^s^ for it, which I being loth to give, and fearing to buye lest you should have said I found it amongst Dr. Sympson's books, soe soon as my back was turned a Gent or Lawyer who saw me about it bought it up presently. But these notes I give that if any of you do light upon it you may doe as you see cause. Worthy and honoured gentlemen, I am y^r^ sincere servant and will ever remayne y^r^ Worships to honour and serve you all, William Watts
>
> 9ber 26, 1638

Whether the dean and chapter made any efforts to recover this volume we do not know ; at any rate, it is not at the present time in their possession. Even if they did recover it, the book may have disappeared again during the troublous times which a few years after the above letter was written wrought sad havoc among the muniments of the church, for Somner tells us that during the Great Rebellion "the Records and evidences of all sorts were seized and distracted, many of them irrevocably lost, and the rest not retrieved without much trouble and cost." Happily, however, the retrieving process was apparently fairly successful, since the collection of manuscripts is still a very extensive one.

Further losses were sustained in 1670 through a fire which broke out in the audit house. The damage would have been worse had not the alarm been promptly given by a lady who while passing through the Dark Entry noticed smoke issuing from the windows of the audit house, so that the Cathedral workmen were able to extinguish the flames before they had gained a complete hold of the building. It is pleasant to add that the dean and chapter acknowledged their obligations to the lady by presenting her with twelve pairs of white kid gloves![1]

Although the fire was fortunately arrested before it gained a complete hold of the room, many of the records, including several register books, were greatly injured, and no attempt was made to repair the damage, for Nicholas Batteley, writing to Strype in 1690 (twenty years after the event), says: "The Archdeacon was so kind as to lend me the keys of the library, and of ye presses where ye MSS. lye, and when I had looked them over he went with me into ye place where ye records lie, where we spent a whole forenoon . . . but in ye place where ye Records of about ye time of K. Edward and Qu. Elizabeth lay were found heaps of burnt papers; for some years ago a fire happened to ye place where ye records lay, whereby many of them were consumed, and ye rest much defaced. A damage irrecoverable!"[1] A hundred years later the charred MSS. were in much the same condition, for Hasted in his *History of Kent* states that "many of the manuscripts which suffered by the above fire remain in the same mutilated state as at their first removal (from the old audit house), though many of them might with care be recovered, in a heap on the floor, in one of the rooms over the vestry of the church."[2] During the past year (1911) a portion of the loose paper leaves of the registers of Edwardian, Marian and Elizabethan times have been guarded and bound by an expert and an index of their contents compiled. The treatment of the curled leaves of the vellum books presents a more difficult problem, which has not yet been solved.

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[1] "July 29, 1670. By order 12 payre of gloves, white kid, &c., for a present to Miss Savin for giving notice of the fyre as per bill, £1 3s."—*Treasurers' Accounts.*

In 1804 the dean and chapter at their St. Katherine's audit passed a resolution that the whole collection of MSS. should be examined and catalogued. The work was entrusted to Mr. Cyprian Rondeau Bunce, a Canterbury lawyer and antiquary, who completed his task in two years. This was a heavy piece of work, for the *Chartæ Antiquæ* alone number nearly six thousand, but Mr. Bunce accomplished it with much success, and his catalogue still remains the key to the collection. Unfortunately, when the audit house was pulled down in 1868 the muniments were removed to other depositories without any pains being taken to preserve the press marks noted in Bunce's catalogue, so that for many years that great work was of little use for the purpose of finding any particular document.

The late Dr. John Brigstock Sheppard, who devoted more than thirty-five years of his life to work amongst the Cathedral archives, made a very valuable index to the monastic registers, and transcribed a large number of the *Chartæ Antiquæ*, notably those which possess especial historical interest. His report on the collection to the Historical MSS. Commission is well known and has been of the greatest service to students.[1] Shortly before his death, which occurred in 1895, a large number of ancient documents were discovered in a loft over a stable in the stonemason's yard, whither they had been relegated probably in the early years of the nineteenth century. Amongst them were many letters of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, which proved to be of considerable historical interest. Dr. Sheppard began to make a calendar of these letters, and this has been completed recently by the present deputy librarian, who has also added an index to the whole series.

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[1] Strype's *Correspondence*, vol. iii.

[2] *History of Kent*, 8vo ed. vol. iv. p. 579.

In 1905 Mr. J. P. Gilson, of the MSS. Department of the British Museum, was invited by the dean and chapter to inspect their records, and to advise what methods should be adopted in order to ensure the safety of the collection, and at the same time make it more accessible for research purposes. In response to this invitation Mr. Gilson paid a visit to Canterbury, made a survey of the archives, and issued a report. In accordance with the recommendations made therein, the whole collection has been placed under review and brought again into relation with the great catalogue of 1806. In order to include the documents discovered since that date, Bunce's catalogue has been interleaved and rebound in three volumes, and descriptions of the additional MSS. have been inserted on the extra leaves. The ancient deeds, which, with a few exceptions, were folded and tied into bundles, have been flattened out, marked with the library stamp, and arranged in drawers having letters and numbers attached corresponding to those in the catalogue, so that any particular document can be readily produced when required. The following epitome of the collection will be sufficient to indicate its extent and importance, and further may be of service to students who desire to ascertain what kind of information the Canterbury records may be expected to yield.

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[1] Historical MSS. Commission's Reports, v. viii. and Appendix to ix.

The whole collection of MSS. may be divided roughly into two classes, viz. detached documents and bound volumes. Of the former by far the most important are the *Chartæ Antiquæ* or muniments proper. These number nearly 6000, and date from the eighth to the sixteenth century. They are catalogued under place-names, but there is also a short index of subjects. The Anglo-Saxon charters are thirty-three in number, of which the earliest is a grant from Æthelbald, King of the Mercians, dated A.D. 742. No. XIV is a grant of Reculver to Christ Church, Canterbury, by Eadred *totius Albionis monarchus et primicerius*. This is the famous MS. which claims on the strength of the attestation clause to be in the handwriting of St. Dunstan. But there is another copy in the British Museum (Cotton Aug. II. 57) which makes the same claim on the same ground. Twenty-three of these charters have been reproduced by photo-zincography in *Facsimiles of Anglo-Saxon MSS.* Part I, published on the recommendation of the Master of the Rolls, and are there transcribed and translated by Mr. W. Basevi Sanders, who has also written an introduction describing them. They have also been printed in full by Mr. Kemble in the *Codex Diplomaticus Anglo-Saxonum*, and with greater accuracy by Mr. W. de Gray Birch in *Cartularium Saxonicum.* Five of the Anglo-Saxon charters are later than the Conquest. The Anglo-Norman charters (William I. to John) exceed seventy in number. They have all been photographed at the instance of the late M. Delisle, of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, for his monumental work on Norman charters.

Those charters that have valuable seals attached to them are arranged in boxes, and are placed in separate cabinets. A brief analysis of their contents is subjoined :

(1) The kings of England are represented by 141 examples, ranging from William I. (fragment only) to James I.; William II. being the only absentee.

(2) The kings of France provide five seals, the MSS. attached to which all relate to the annual grant of wine given by the kings of France to the convent of Christ Church.

(3) Thirty Archbishops are represented by eighty-eight seals, Anselm's being the first and Cranmer's the last ; Ralph, Baldwin, Reginald, Kilwardby, Bradwardine, Ufford, Chicheley, Kemp and Bourchier are missing.

(4) Bishops of the southern province furnish about fifty seals, the twelfth and thirteenth centuries being the most prolific periods.

(5) Conventual seals afford about 100 examples.

(6) The heads of religious houses, abbots, priors, &c., appear in about fifty instances.

(7) Private seals of clergy and laymen make up the number to 690. The clerical seals are very interesting, many of them being impressed by antique gems ; this is also the case with several of the counter-seals of the archbishops and bishops.

(B) Account rolls. These number about 2500; thirteenth to early sixteenth centuries ; the earliest is an almoners' roll of 1269. They fall into the following classes :

(*a*) Rolls relating to the domestic economy of the priory, viz. those kept by the following monastic officers : the almoner (64) ; cellarer (11) ; chamberlain (64) ; treasurers (28) ; sacrist (62) ; granger (64) ; bartoner (36) ; bartoner's bailiff (32) ; prior's chaplains (10) ; anniversary (21) ; warden of malthouse (15) ;

seneschal (41); various (*computi diversi*) (12); general (*assissa de scaccario*) (13).

(*b*) Rolls relating to rural economy, viz. the rolls of the provosts and bedels of the manors (about 2000).

(*c*) Visitation rolls (18). These are of fourteenth-century date, and contain proceedings in the court of the prior and chapter acting as guardians of the spiritualities when the see was vacant.

There are also about 320 rolls containing the depositions of witnesses in ecclesiastical suits, of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

(C) Documents discovered since the compilation of Bunce's catalogue in 1806, and not included therein, viz.:

(*a*) *Sede Vacante* instruments (1211). These date from the early years of the thirteenth century downwards. They were mounted by the late Dr. Sheppard in scrap-books, transcribed and indexed, the latter imperfectly.

(*b*) Letters, thirteenth to sixteenth centuries (1267).

(*c*) Miscellaneous, but chiefly relating to the domestic and rural economy of the priory; 1081 documents.

Class C has been calendared and indexed in recent years.

Bound Volumes

(1) The Monastic Registers. These registers are contained in twenty-one volumes, lettered from A to T2. They were bound under the direction of Samuel Norris, auditor and chapter clerk from 1711 to 1753. The work was so carelessly executed that not only were documents of quite different date and subject bound up in one volume, but not infrequently the pages of a document were misplaced, and even the pages of different registers were intermingled. Many of the volumes have suffered in times past from fire

or damp, and several of the most dilapidated have recently been repaired and rebound at a very considerable expense. The arrangement of the documents, however, remains unchanged in the rebound volumes, in order that the indexes should not be disturbed. A full index of each volume was made by the late Dr. Sheppard. The following brief description of the several volumes will be sufficient to indicate the nature of their contents :

Register A. Documents relating to the liberties and estates of the church of Canterbury from the seventh to the fifteenth century. The earliest were copied into this book when Henry of Eastry was prior, 1284–1331. 600 fo. vellum.

Register B. An account of the Christ Church manors outside the county of Kent. 450 fo. vellum.

Register C. A similar record of the manors within the county of Kent. 293 fo. vellum.

Register D. A continuation of the last. 300 fo. vellum.

Register E. *Registrum Omnium Cartarum et Composicionum Ecclesie Cantuar.* Compiled *temp.* Prior Eastry. 408 fo. vellum

At the end are fifty folios of the ordinary register of the convent for the year 1501.

Register F. Copies of wills proved in the court of the prior of Christ Church (*Sede vacante*). An index of names is in the eighth report of the Historical MSS. Commission, pp. 332–333. 290 fo. vellum.

Register G. Acts of the prior and chapter during vacancies of the see of Canterbury between the years 1348–1413. 300 fo. vellum.

Register H. A composite volume made up of several distinct *Libelli*, viz. (*a*) rentals, the earliest being of twelfth-century date ; (*b*) the conventual register, 1353–1373 ; (*c*) compositions between Christ Church and St. Augustine's, and between Archbishop Boniface and the prior and convent of Christ Church ;

(*d*) manorial extents; (*e*) *Assisa Scaccarii*, 1252–1262. 230 fo. vellum.

Register I. Made up of three *Libelli*, viz. (*a*) a land chartulary, *temp.* Prior Eastry; (*b*) letters, patents, writs, &c., 1290–1340; (*c*) a list of the more important evidences and muniments. 477 fo. vellum.

Register J. Surveys, and extents of Manors, and treatises on Rural Economy, compiled by brother John de Gore (1286–1326). 300 fo. vellum.

Register K. Records of suits, domestic economy and rentals, *temp.* Prior Eastry (one is earlier). 271 fo. vellum.

Register L. The letter book of Christ Church, 1318–1367. [The greater part of the contents are printed in *Literæ Cantuariensis*, edited by Dr. Sheppard for the Master of the Rolls.] 206 fo. paper.

Register M. *Taxacio Beneficiorum Ecclesiasticorum per totam Angliam et Walliam*, 1384–5. [A fourteenth-century copy of the Taxation of Pope Nicolas IV.] 300 fo. vellum.

Register N. Made up of two *Libelli*, viz. (1) The *Sede Vacante* register for the years 1553, 1554, 1555; (2) copies of monastic records, beginning in the year 1438. 280 fo. paper.

Register O. Rural and domestic economy, *temp.* Prior Eastry. 200 fo. vellum.

Register P. Much the same as Register O. 188 fo. vellum.

Register Q. *Sede Vacante* records from 1292–1349. 236 fo. vellum.

Register R. *Sede Vacante* records, 1486, 1500, 1503. 190 fo. vellum.

Register S. General register of the priory, 1390–1500. 450 fo. vellum.

Register T1. General register of the priory, 1506–1532. 350 fo. vellum.

Register T2. General register of the priory, 1532–1540. 176 fo. vellum.

(2) Registers of the dean and chapter between the years 1541–1800. 27 vols.

Gaps occur in the earlier volumes, notably in the reigns of Edward VI, Mary I, Elizabeth, James I, and Charles I, but these have been recently to some extent filled by the repair of the charred leaves of former register books. (*See above*, p. 395.)

(3) Treasurers' account books, 1541–1800. 170 vols. The series is incomplete, and some of the earlier volumes are in a very frail condition.

(4) Receiver-General's account books, 1600–1800. 133 vols.

(5) Rentals and registers of the provosts and bedels of the manors in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. 17 vols.

(6) Act books of the dean and chapter, 1561–1800. The two first volumes are badly damaged by fire. 11 vols.

(7) Miscellaneous books of accounts, fifteenth to eighteenth century. 90 vols.

(8) Court books of the archdeaconry and consistory courts from the closing years of the fourteenth to the middle of the eighteenth century. 359 vols.

APPENDIX

A list of the books which were once in the conventual library and are still preserved in the library of the dean and chapter:

Egidius de Columna romanus. De regimine principum. Fifteenth century.

Constitutiones: Othonis et Ottoboni; Oxonie de libertalibus ecclesiarum; Bonefacii Archiepiscopi; Johis Peckham Arciepiscopi. Fourteenth century.

Constitutiones Othonis et Ottoboni cum glossa Johis de Aton. Fifteenth century.

Liber tertius Decretalium et Repertorium Clementinarum Thome de Walkyngton. Fourteenth century.

Summa Decretalium cum summa Gaufridi. Thirteenth century.

Libri quinque Decretalium Abbrev: per Henricum Hostiensem. Given to Christ Church by Prior Thomas Chillenden. Fourteenth century.

Johannis de Hyspano Casus Decretalium. This book belonged to Prior Adam Chillenden. Thirteenth century.

Cawston Thomas. An obituary of the monks of Christ Church from 1286 to 1507, &c. Fifteenth century.

Gregorii Epistolæ Decretales. Early fourteenth century.

Grosteste, Robert. *Diversi tractatus pœnitentiæ.* Fourteenth century.

—— *Correctorium totius Biblie.* Fifteenth century.

Hugo de Sancto Claro, Super quatuor Libros Sententiarum. Thirteenth century.

Ingram, W. *Logica.* Fifteenth century.

Langton, Stephen. *Moralia.* Three vols. A commentary on Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, four books of Kings, Tobias, Hester, Esdras, two books of Maccabees and the twelve minor prophets. Thirteenth century.

Legenda Sanctorum. Imperfect. Sixty-one leaves recovered by the late Dr. J. B. Sheppard from the bindings of the registers of the archdeacon's court. A few of the large illuminated initials contain representations of saints. Twelfth century.

Lessons in the week and on some Sundays and Holy days for monastic use. Fourteenth century.

Miscellaneous. Contains amongst many other items Pope Gregory IX.'s statute concerning Peter's Pence, and a treatise on the duties of the priesthood, called *Pars oculi sacerdotum.* Fourteenth century.

Miscellaneous. (*a*) *Summa que dicitur pars oculi sacerdotum; dextra oculi sacerdotum, sinistra pars oculi* *sacerdotum.* (*b*) *Tractatus de septem sacramentis, de septem virtutibus septem peccatis mortalibus, et decem præceptis.* (*c*) *Instructiones beati Gregorii quo modo venerandi sunt sancti.* Thirteenth century.

A short chronicle, beginning with the birth of King Edward III and ending with the destruction of the campanile at Canterbury by an earthquake in 1382. Fourteenth century.

Miscellaneous. Contains (*a*) rents of Christ Church in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; (*b*) *Diversorum Patrum sententiæ de primatu Romane Ecclesie* Twelfth century. (*c*) Latin sermons (forty). This book belonged to the notorious Roger Norris who was prior of Christ Church 1188–1190. (*See* chapter vi, p. .)

Liber precum cuiusdam monachi Cantuariensis. Early fifteenth century.

Roger de St. Elphege. *Liber sermonum et collectio de multis.* The commonplace book of Prior Roger of St. Elphege, 1258–1263.

Duns Scotus. *Super primum, secundum et tertium librum, Sententiarum cum collationibus eusdem.* Fourteenth century.

—— *Quæstiones Theologicæ.* Thirteenth century.

Tabula Speculi Historialis. Fifteenth century.

William of Norwich. A Latin commentary on Isaiah. Twelfth century.

C. E. W.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE STAINED GLASS WINDOWS AND MURAL PAINTINGS

In spite of all the loss sustained by storm and tempest, Reformers and Puritans, and what Gostling calls " the wicked wantonness of unlucky boys," the windows of the cathedral church still retain many splendid specimens of ancient stained glass.[1] From William of Malmesbury's description of the church in the twelfth century it would seem that the " glorious choir " of Anselm and Conrad was adorned with painted windows; but it is scarcely possible that any of this glass can have survived the great fire of 1174. Mr. Westlake, in his *History of Design in Painted Glass*, is of opinion that the earliest glass now in the cathedral is in the windows of the clerestory of the choir, and that it was executed very early in the thirteenth century.

There are forty-nine single-light windows in the clerestory, each of which was once filled with two figures, one above the other. With the exception of five in the apse, these windows all illustrated our Lord's ancestry, beginning with the Almighty and

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[1] Alterations made between 1541 and 1544:

To the glasier " For emending and altering a window in Oxenforth styple, blown down by the wynde, 5s.

" For putting out of scriptures and altering of part of the wyndowes in the body of the church over the south syde, 15d.

" For emending of a window beside Arundel stylpe, 6d.

" For altering and emending a window in St. Michel's yele, 15d.

" For emending of a window in our lady chappell, 6d.

" For emending of two casements over the high altar, 15d.

" For mendyng the windows and casements where the shryne was and in our lady Chapel, iiis.

Adam, in the westernmost window on the north side, and ending with the blessed Virgin Mary and our Lord in the corresponding window on the south side. Only sixteen of these windows now retain their ancient glass; the rest were designed and given by George Austin, Junior, about the middle of the last century.

In general treatment the clerestory windows at Canterbury bear a remarkably close resemblance to ancient glass in the cathedral churches of Chartres, Rheims, and Sens; indeed, Mr. Westlake goes so far as to say that "the subjects might in some cases be exchanged without exciting comment from the spectators."[1] The five windows in the apse contained the following subjects arranged in triple tiers:

1

Moses.
Striking the Rock.
Giving the Law.

2

The Transfiguration.
The Agony.
The Magi.

3

The Ascension.
The Crucifixion.
The Nativity.

4

The Resurrection.
The Flagellation.
The Flight in Egypt.

5

The Baptism.
The Beheading of St. John the Baptist.
(?)

These windows were destroyed by the Puritans in the seventeenth century. The present glass was designed by the late George Austin.

In the side aisles of the choir are fourteen large round-headed windows (excluding those in the apses of the transepts), twelve of which formerly contained

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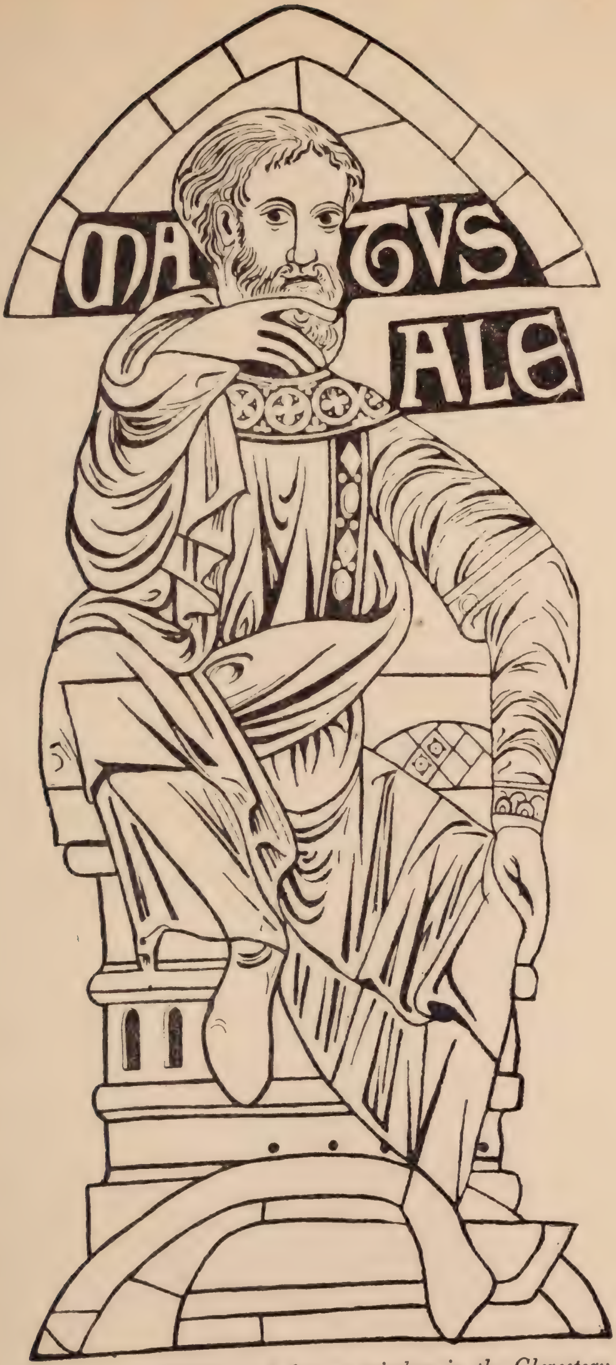
[1] *History of Design in Painted Glass*, London, 1881.



Methusaleh from a window in the Clerestory

glass illustrating the life and teaching of our Lord. When the whole series was complete the life of Christ was set forth from the Annunciation to the Resurrection, the chief subjects being contained in central medallions, flanked by others in which were depicted certain types and illustrations.

The series commenced in the western window of the north choir aisle and ended in the corresponding window on the south side. A description of the subjects and types portrayed in these great "theological windows," together with the Latin inscriptions which surrounded them, is preserved among the Chapter archives. This MS. (C 246), which was written early in the fourteenth century, was transcribed by Somner, who printed it in the appendix to his *Antiquities of Canterbury;* it has also been edited by Dr. M. R. James for the Cambridge Antiquarian Society. The original arrangement of the glass was as follows:

WINDOW I

The Conception and Nativity

Subject	*Illustrations*
The Annunciation	Moses and the burning bush. Gideon and the fleece.
Mary meeting Elizabeth	Mercy and Truth meeting together. Righteousness and Peace kissing each other.
The Nativity	Nebuchadnezzar's dream of the image and stone.
Mary	
The Shepherds	Moses and the rod that budded. David. Habbakuk.

WINDOW II

The Infancy

The Magi—	Balaam
(1) Following the star	Isaiah. Jeremiah.
(2) Before Herod	Christ and the Gentiles. The Exodus.

(3) Adoring Christ	Joseph with his brethren and Egyptians.
	Queen of Sheba before Solomon.
(4) Their Dream	Jeroboam and the Man of God.
	Lot escaping from Sodom.
The Presentation in the Temple	Abraham and Melchizedech.
	Presentation of Samuel.
The Flight into Egypt	David's flight to Nob.
	Elijah's flight from Ahab and Jezebel.
The Slaughter of the Innocents	Saul slaughters the priests.
	Slaughter of tribe of Benjamin in Gibeon.

WINDOW III

Among the Doctors. Baptism. Temptation

Jesus among the Doctors	Moses and Jethro with the people.
	Daniel among the Elders.
The Baptism of our Lord	Noah and the Dove.
	Israelites crossing the Red Sea.
The Temptation	Eve taking the apple.
(Greed and Pride)	Eve eating it.
(Desire)	Adam and Eve eating the apple.
	David and Goliath.

WINDOW IV

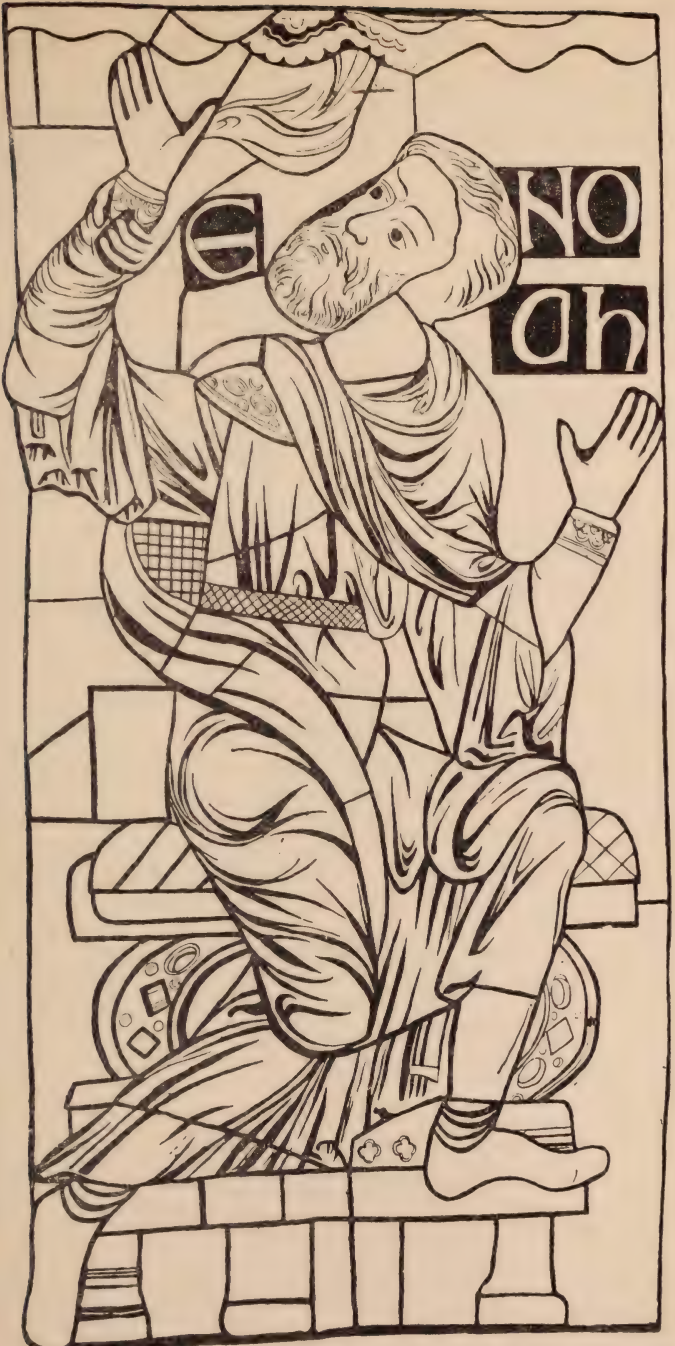
Life of Christ

The Call of Nathanael	Adam and Eve with fig-leaves.
	Israelites under the Law.
The Marriage Feast at Cana	Six ages of the world.
(six waterpots)	Six ages of man.
The Apostles fishing	St. Peter with the Church of the Jews.
	St. Paul with the Church of the Gentiles.
Jesus reading the Law	Esdras reading the Law.
	St. Gregory ordaining readers.
The Sermon on the Mount	The Doctors of the Church.
	Moses receives the Law.
Jesus cleansing the leper	Paul baptizing.
	Elisha and Naaman.

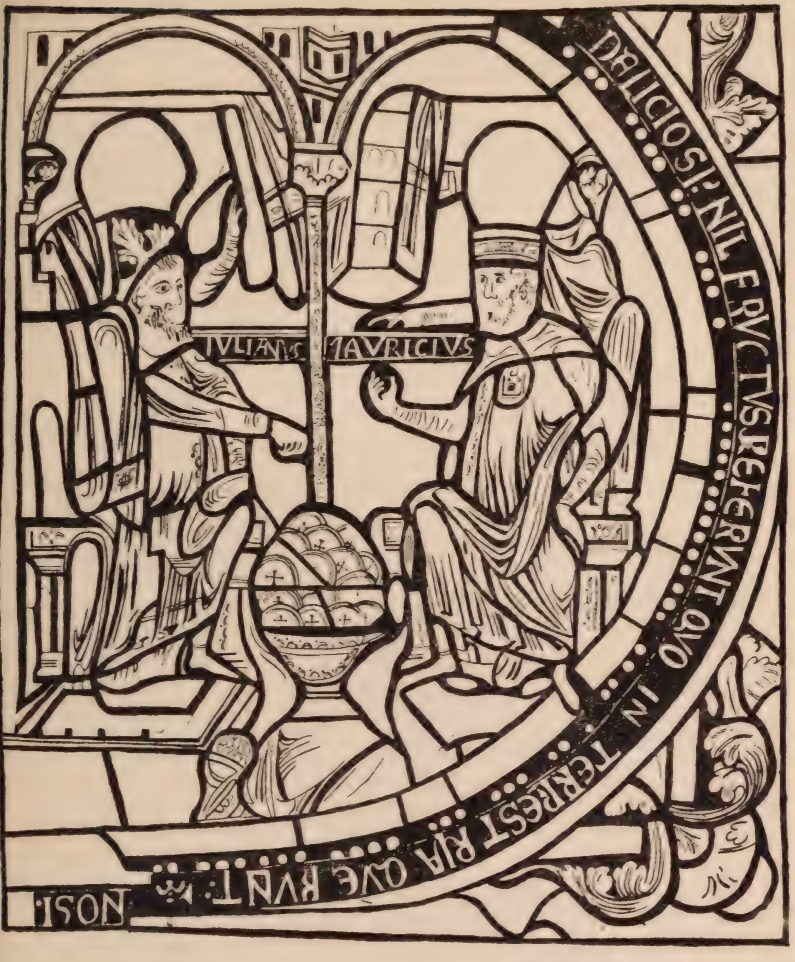
WINDOW V

Life of Christ (*continued*)

Jesus casting out devils	Angel binding the Devil.
Mary anointing His feet	Drusiana's acts of charity.
Jesus with Mary and Martha	Peter in the ship.
	John reading.
	Rachel and Leah.



Enoch from a window in the Clerestory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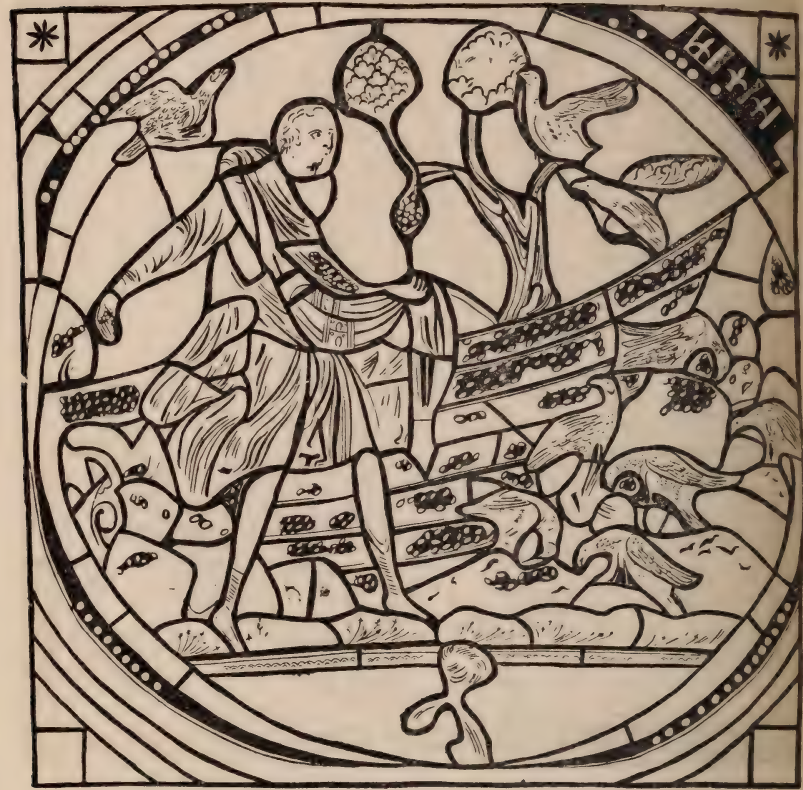
The Rich Men of this World
Window II. 20

Jesus plucking the ears of corn	Apostles grinding corn. Peter and Paul with the nations.
The Woman of Samaria—	
(1) At the well	Moses with the Pentateuch. Church of the Gentiles.
(2) Bringing the people to Jesus	Rebekah meeting Abraham's servant. Rachel meeting Jacob.

WINDOW VI

Parables. Feeding the Multitude

Jesus conversing with Apostles	Gentiles seeking the Gospel. Pharisees rejecting the Gospel.

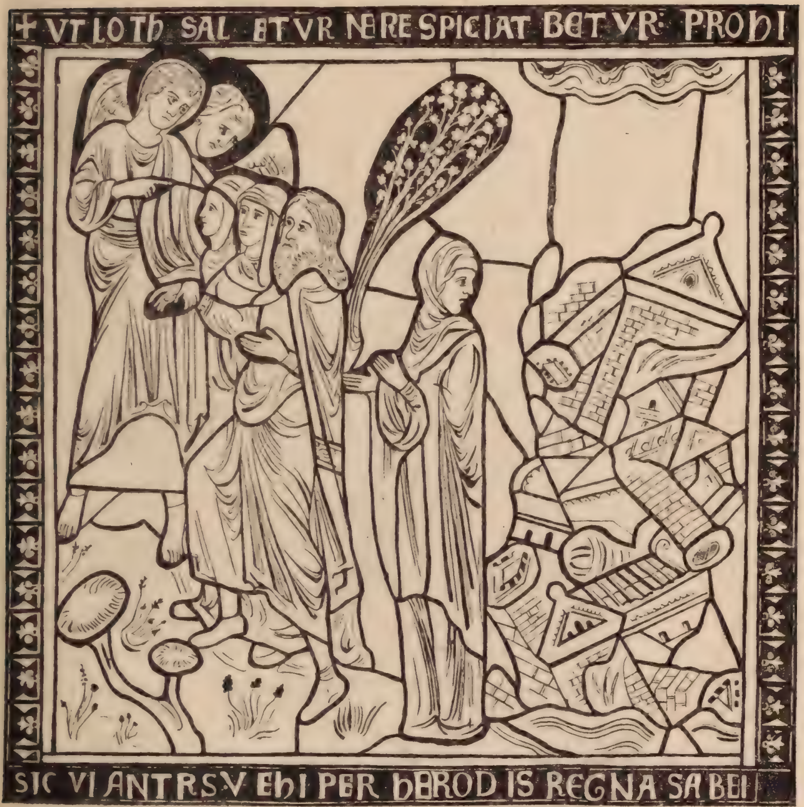


The Parable of the Sower
Window II. 21

Parable of the Sower—	
(1) Fowls of air	Pharisees rejecting Jesus. Pharisees tempting Him.
(2) The thorns	The rich of this world.
(3) Good ground	Job, Daniel, and Noah.
Parable of the Leaven	Noah's sons and the Church
	Virginity, continence, and matrimony.
Parable of the Net	

Parable of the Harvest
Miracle of the five loaves
and two fishes

The Last Judgment.
Christ as priest and king.
Moses and the Synagogue.
The Church with John.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SIC VI ANTRSV EhI PER hEROD IS REGNA SABEI

The Destruction of Sodom
Window II. 20

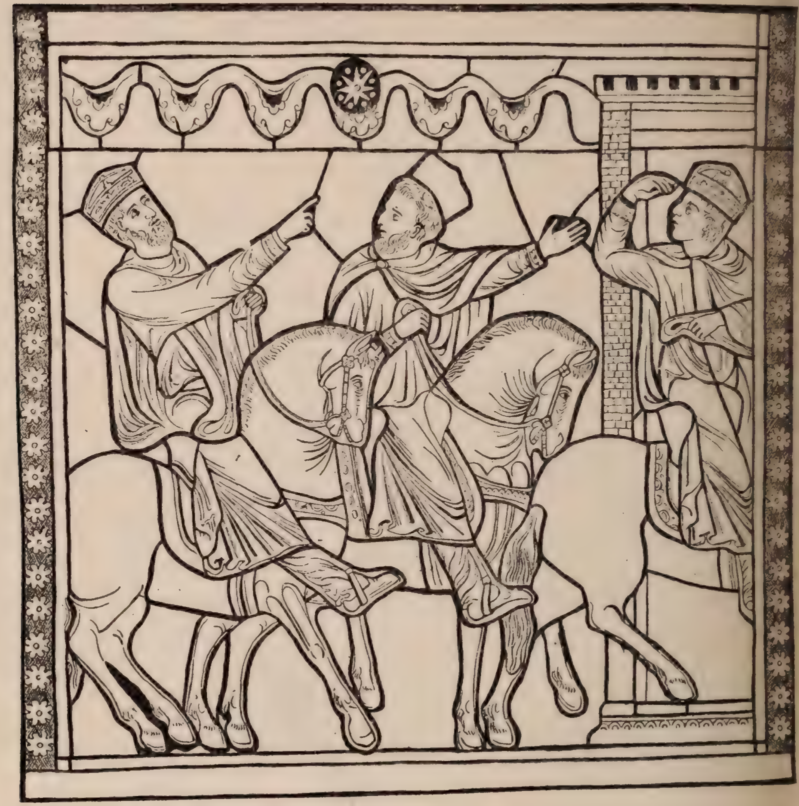
WINDOW VII

Life of Christ (*continued*). The Lost Sheep

Jesus healing the Canaanite
woman's daughter
Jesus healing the man at the
Pool of Bethesda
The Transfiguration

Church of the Gentiles.
Peter's vision.
Moses with the Pentateuch.
Christ baptizing.
Angels clothing the risen dead.
Angels leading the righteous to God.

Peter and the fish with the penny	Christ goes up to Jerusalem. The Crucifixion.
Jesus and the little child	Monks washing the feet of the poor. Kings obedient to Peter and Paul.
The lost sheep	Christ on the Cross. Christ despoiling Hell.



The Three Wise Men Riding
Window II. 2

WINDOW VIII

Parable of the Forgiven Servant

Parable of the master and the debtor servant—	
(1) He forgives the debt	Peter and Paul giving absolution. Christ giving absolution.

(2) The servant striking his fellow servant	Stoning of Paul. Stoning of Stephen.
(3) Servant given to the tormentors	Wicked cast into Hell. Destruction of Jerusalem.

WINDOW IX

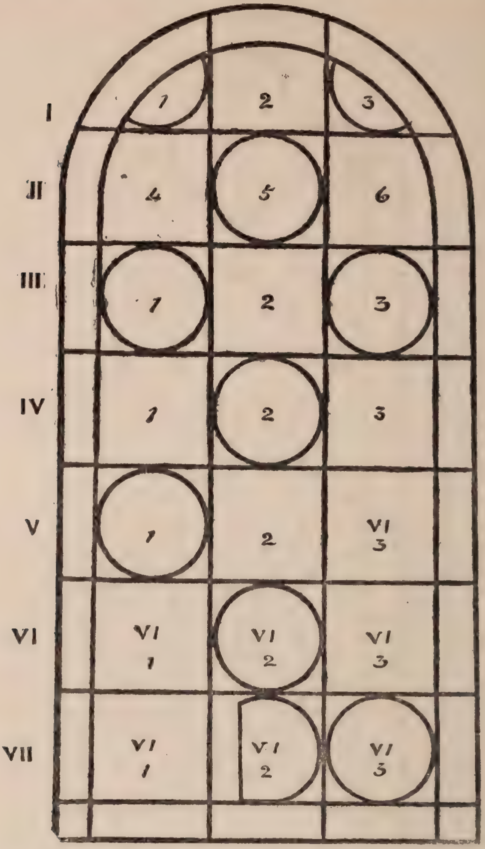
Parable of the Good Samaritan

Parable of the Good Samaritan—	
(1) The man falls among thieves	Creation of Adam. Creation of Eve. Adam and Eve eating the apple. Adam and Eve cast out of Eden.
(2) Priest and Levite pass by	Moses and Aaron before Pharaoh. The Passover. The Exodus. The golden calf. Giving of the Law. The brazen serpent.
(3) Samaritan taking the wounded man to the inn	Peter accused by the maidservant. The Crucifixion. The Entombment. The Resurrection. The angel speaks to the Maries.

WINDOW X

Raising of the Dead. Entry into Jerusalem

Raising of Jairus's daughter	Abigail meeting David. Constantine's repentance.
Raising of the widow's son	Solomon worshipping images and repenting. Repentance of Theophilus.
Raising of Lazarus	Jonah under the gourd. Repentance of Mary of Egypt.
Triumphal entry into Jerusalem—	
(1) Jesus sending for the ass	Holy Ghost in likeness of a dove between God and man. Jesus between Peter and Paul.
(2) Disciples bringing the ass and colt	Peter bringing Jewish Church. Paul bringing Gentile Church.
(3) Children meeting Jesus	Isaiah. David.

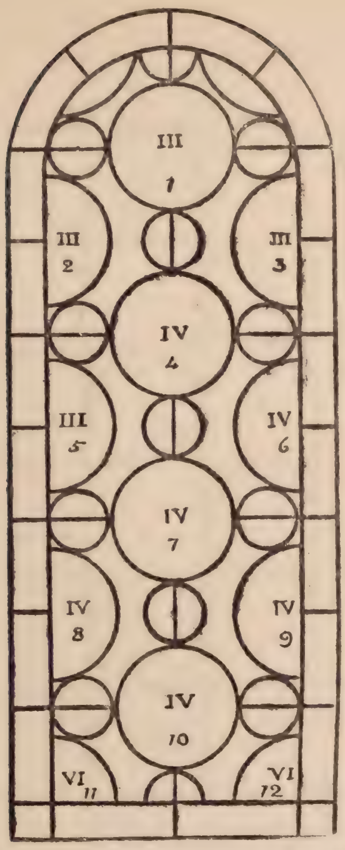


1. *Balaam*; 2. *Magi riding*; 3. *Isaiah*; 4. *Pharaoh*; 5. *Herod and Magi*; 6. *Gentiles*; 7. *Solomon and Queen Sheba*; 8. *Magi Offering*; 9. *Joseph*; 10. *Sodom*; 11. *Magi's Dream*; 12. *Jeroboam*; 13. *Samuel*; 14. *Christ presented*; 15. *Pharisees rejecting Christ*; 16. *Virginity, &c.*; 17. *Just Men*; 18. *Noah's three Sons*; 19. *Sower and Thorns*; 20. *Rich Men*; 21. *Sower and Birds.*

Window II

Medallions 1 to 14 are the originals. The remaining ones, now lost, were as follows:

15. Melchizedech and Abraham.
16. David and Doeg's flight.
17. Flight into Egypt.
18. Elijah's flight.
19. Saul's slaughter of Priests.
20. Slaughter of the Innocents.
21. Slaughter of Gibeonites.



1. *Jesus and Doctors*; 2. *Moses and Jethro*; 3. *Daniel*; 4. *Miraculous draught of fishes*; 5. *Noah*; 6. *Ages of Man*; 7. *Marriage in Cana*; 8. *Six Ages of World*; 9. *Peter in Jewish Church*; 10. *Nathanael*; 11. *Pharisees reject Christ*; *Gentiles seeking Christ*

Window III

Medallions 1, 2, 3, 5 are the originals. The remaining ones, now lost, were as follows:

4. Christ's Baptism.
6. Crossing the Red Sea.
7. The Temptation (1st and 2nd)
8. Eve taking the apple.
9. Eve Eating.
10. The Temptation (3rd).
11. Adam and Eve Eating.
12. David and Goliath.

Note. The Roman figures in the centre of the circles refer to the window from which the medallion was taken.

WINDOW XI

Last Supper. Betrayal. Scourging

The Last Supper	David The falling of the manna.
Jesus washing the Apostles' feet	Abraham washing the angel's feet. Laban washing the camel's feet.
The Betrayal	Joseph being sold. Joab kissing and killing Abner.
The Flagellation	Job with boils. Elisha mocked by the children.

WINDOW XII

Crucifixion. Resurrection

Christ carrying the Cross	Isaac carrying the wood. Widow of Zarephath gathering sticks.
Christ on the Cross	The brazen serpent. The golden calf burned.
The Descent from the Cross	Death of Abel. Elisha restoring the boy to life.
Christ in the tomb	The Passover mark written in blood. Samson and Delilah. Jonah in the whale's belly.
Christ harrowing Hell	David rescuing the sheep. Samson with the gates of Gaza.
The Resurrection	Jonah cast up by the whale. David let down from the window.
Mary and the Angel	Joseph drawn up from the pit. Lion bringing its young to life.[1]

Of these windows, Nos. II and III alone retain their ancient glass. No. I was blocked up about 1663 when a staircase to the organ-loft was erected; but inasmuch as the glass in this window had reference to St. Mary the Virgin, it is probable that it had been already destroyed. So that the windows which originally came second and third in the series are at the present time the first and second of the north choir aisle.

Several medallions in both these windows contain glass which has been transferred from others of the same series, and the present arrangement will be best understood by the aid of the plans on the preceding pages.

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[1] For this convenient summary of subjects we are indebted to Mr. F. S. Parry.

It will be noticed that several of the scenes illustrate the parables of our Lord, which (with the exception of the three peculiar to St. Luke's Gospel) were rarely made use of by mediæval artists of the Western Church.

Dr. James traces a connection between the types in these windows and those illustrated in a collection of types called *Pictor in Carmine*, made late in the twelfth century, and also with those in the series of thirteenth-century wall-paintings which once adorned the stalls at Peterborough; and he suggests that possibly Benedict, prior of Christ Church, who became Abbot of Peterborough in 1177, may have communicated copies of the Peterborough legends to his old monastery.[1]

THE *TRIFORIUM* WINDOWS

The six windows with trefoiled heads, three in the north and three in the south choir aisle, are filled with ancient glass of great beauty, but much of it has been removed thither from other parts of the church, and the arrangement is so confused that the subjects cannot in all cases be determined.

In the westernmost window of the north aisle only the subject contained in the lower medallion to the right can be made out. This represents the story related by William of Canterbury, of Adam, a forester, who had caught three men who had slain a deer, one of whom, "casting a dart, pierced the throat of his assailant." The keeper is represented as falling backwards, and the inscription reads, "Fur fugiens guttur perforat insequentis" ("The fleeing thief pierces the throat of his pursuer"). It is, however, satisfactory to learn that "the Martyr to whom the Lord of Power had granted power ordained that in three weeks the unfortunate man should be cured at Canterbury."

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[1] "The Twelve Theological Windows of Canterbury Cathedral." M. R. James in the Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, 1901, p. 11.

In the central window the only intelligible medallion is the lower one to the left, which represents the siege of Canterbury by the Danes. In the third window the two lower medallions depict scenes in the life of St. Alphege, viz. his capture by the Danes (left) and his murder (right).

The three corresponding windows in the south aisle contain glass taken probably from a window in the Trinity Chapel, since all the subjects relate to the miracles of St. Thomas. Five medallions illustrate the story of William Kellett, a carpenter who wounded himself with his axe and was healed by the saint. The upper roundel of the third window shows the accident; the corresponding one in the first (western) window the bandaging of the wound; the lower one to the left the carpenter's vision; the lower medallion to the right in the first window his recovery; and that to the right in the second window his joyful departure from the city.

In the north transept the great rose window in the gable retains a portion of its ancient glass. In the centre are two figures representing respectively Moses with the Tables of the Law and the Jewish Church with the Levitical books. The heads of these figures are modern restorations. Around the central medallion are figures representing the cardinal virtues. In the window of the northern apse of the transept, where the altar of St. Martin formerly stood, one panel of ancient glass remains, illustrating the well-known legend of the saint dividing his cloak with the beggar.

Passing to the Trinity (St. Thomas's) Chapel we find it lighted by six windows on the north and six on the south side. All were once filled with scenes taken from the stories of the miracles of St. Thomas, collected by Benedict of Peterborough and William of Canterbury, both of whom were custodians of the saint's tomb in the crypt. In the north aisle only the third, fourth, fifth and sixth windows retain portions of their ancient glass; but there have been considerable "restorations." Thus, in the third window (counting from the west) four of the medallions, eight of the upper roundels and part of the border are original. The remainder is the work of the late S. Caldwell, of Canterbury, from old fragments.[1] In the next window (towards the east) four of the medallions are filled with modern copies of the story of Willliam Kellett related above. Three scenes in the fifth window and six lengths of the border are new. In the head of the window is a representation of a vision which Benedict tells us he saw himself. The martyr is seen coming forth from the shrine in full pontifical robes and making his way to an altar, as if to celebrate mass. "The medallion," says Austin, "is the more interesting from being an undoubted work of the thirteenth century; and having been designed for a position immediately opposite to and within a few yards of the shrine itself, and occupying the place of honour in the largest and most beautiful window, without doubt represents the main features of the shrine faithfully."[2]

In the easternmost window on the north side no less than nine of the medallions contain modern replicas of scenes which occur elsewhere in this window or in the one last mentioned.[3]

Perhaps the quaintest group in this window is that which depicts the story of Robert of Rochester, a naughty and cruel boy who, as Benedict tells us, when out stoning frogs in the Medway with some wicked companions, slipped into the river and was drowned, but who by the efficacy of the saint's blood mixed with water was afterwards restored to life. The first medallion shows the boy disappearing in the water beside three large green frogs. In the next the other boys are seen telling the mother of the accident. She exclaims, "Gracious Thomas, Martyr of God, restore to me my son." In the third scene the grief-stricken parents are watching their son's corpse being drawn out of the river by a man with an iron hook. Unfortunately, the medallions which complete this story have been destroyed.

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[1] In 1894 S. Caldwell was paid £41 10s. for making "six figure lights, also scrolling and border lights with fragments of old glass to complete the window on the north side of the Trinity Chapel."

[2] *See* "The Cathedral Church of Canterbury," London, G. Bell & Son, 1896.

[3] £105 7s. 6d. was spent on this window in 1855. The work comprised "Releading and re-storing the missing portions of the medallions of the upper part of the window with old glass," and the making of "nine medallions of new glass to complete the old subjects, six lights of groundwork new, and six lengths of border, and two corner lights, also new glass, at 30s. per foot, in all 5 ft. 10 in. by 7 ft. 3 in. = 41 sq. ft. 3½ in." "Treasurers' Vouchers," *sub anno.*

Nine compartments in this window illustrate a marvellous succession of miracles which were wrought in the family of one Jordan, a distinguished knight who had been an intimate friend of Archbishop Becket. First, the family nurse dies, and her funeral is depicted, then the knight's little boy of ten. Fortunately, twenty pilgrims arrive that day at the house, and the father borrows some of the "Saint's water." In the next scene the father is pouring the wonder-working mixture between the clenched lips of his son. At the third draught a spot of colour showed itself upon the cheek of the boy, who, as Benedict tells us, now opened one eye, and said, "Why are you weeping, father? Why are you crying, lady? The blessed martyr Thomas has restored me to you." The father then puts into his son's hands four pieces of silver to be offered at the martyr's shrine before mid-Lent. In the next scene the boy is seen upon a couch feeding himself with a spoon. But the vow is forgotten. A visit of the Warden of the Cinque Ports puts it out of the heads of the parents. The eldest son now dies and twenty of the household fall sick. A reminder of the forgotten vow is conveyed to the knight by a leper, who has been warned in a dream to undertake the errand. In the last scene of the series we see the father offering a large bowl full of gold and silver pieces, and the mother leading by the hand the boy, now quite well. In the telling of this story the chief points which the monastic artists were anxious to emphasise were doubtless "the extreme danger of delaying the performance of a vow under whatever circumstances made, the expiation sternly required by the saint, and the satisfaction with which the martyr viewed money-offerings made at the shrine." [1]

Passing to the south aisle of the Trinity Chapel, we find in the easternmost window sixteen medallions, of which no less than eight were added by Mr. Caldwell in 1893 from fragments of old glass; as also were portions of the bordering and the spandrels at the bottom. The place occupied by the new medallions was perhaps once filled by the scenes relating to the stories of William Kellett, the carpenter, and of Adam the forester, now in the triforium windows.[2]

The second window is plain. The third retains only part of the bordering. The fourth is plain. The fifth is filled with fragments of ancient glass which were arranged by Mr. Caldwell as a memorial window in 1906. The inscription beneath the window reads: "This ancient glass was recovered and replaced by Edward Moore, D.D., Canon of this Cathedral, as a memorial to his dearly loved wife, Annie Moore, who died December 27, 1906."

The sixth window has twenty-two compartments. The stained glass from twelve of them was removed (probably early in the last century) to windows in the north and south transepts. In 1897 it was brought back and refixed by Mr. Caldwell, who also made six medallions partly from fragments of old glass to fill up the vacant spaces. The principal scenes relate to the stories of Godfrey of Winchester, who was cured of a fever by the holy water, and of William of Gloucester, who was buried by a fall of earth when making some excavations for an aqueduct at Churchdown.

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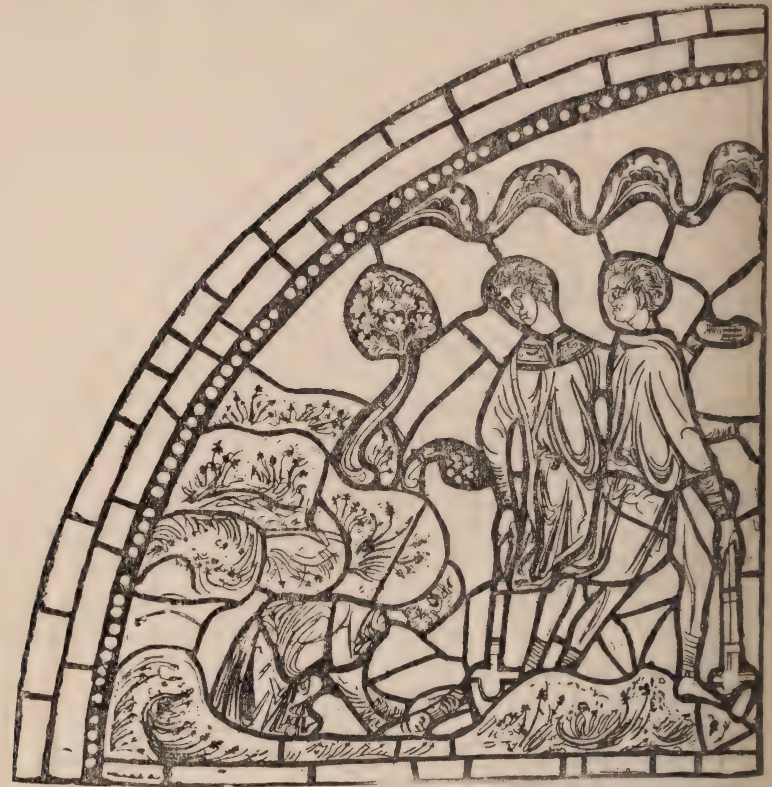
[1] George Austin, quoted in the "Cathedral Church of Canterbury," G. Bell & Son, London, 1896.

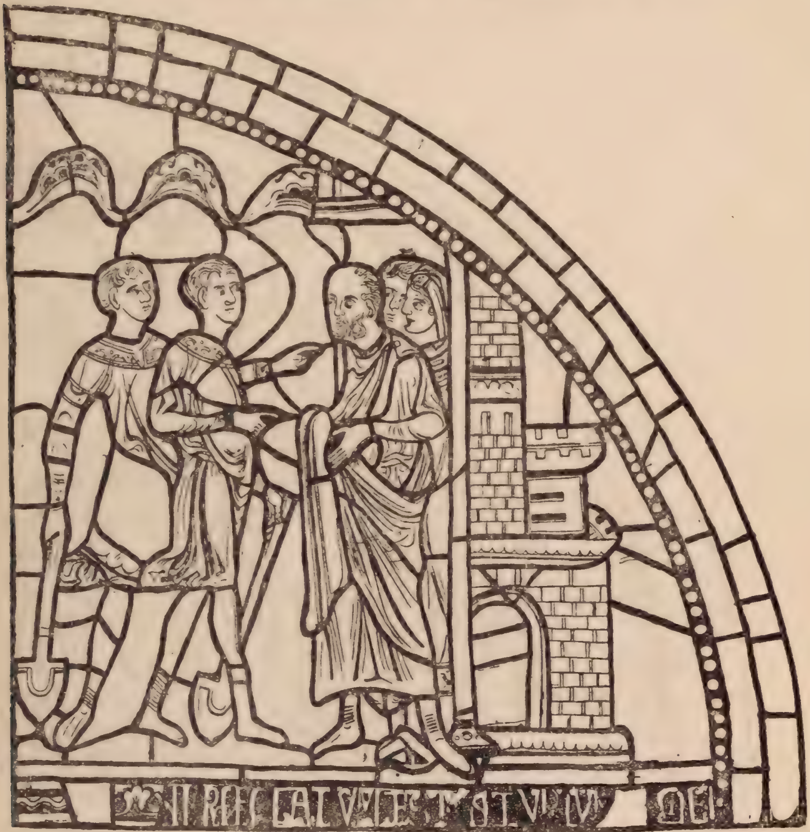
[2] *See* "Notes on the Painted Glass in Canterbury Cathedral," Emily Williams, Aberdeen, 1897, p. 39.



1. *The Earth falls on William of Gloucester*
Window I. 13, *Trinity Chapel, South Side*

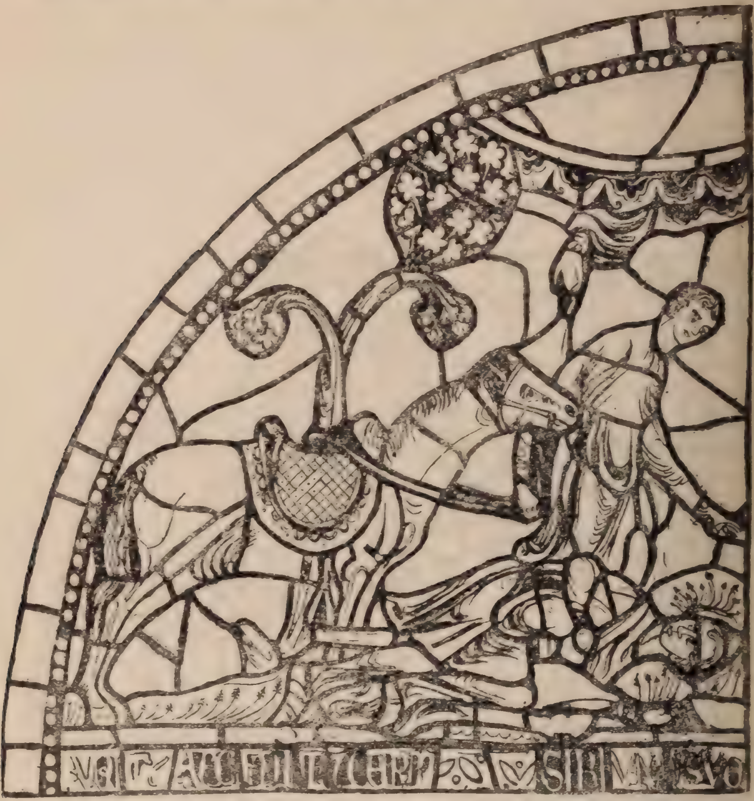
Of the five windows in the corona, the central one only retains its ancient glass. Here there are five principal scenes, taken from Holy Scripture, each being surrounded by four types. The principal subjects represent the Crucifixion, the Entombment, the

Resurrection, the Ascension, and Pentecost. Of these the Crucifixion and Resurrection are wholly modern, and the Ascension partly so. They were executed by Mr. Caldwell, from designs in the possession of Mr. George Austin, partly from fragments of old glass. So nearly do the new medallions resemble the thirteenth-century glass that they were taken to be parts of the original window by Mr. Westlake, who gives an engraving of the "Crucifixion" in his "History of Design in Painted Glass." In the eighteenth century, and earlier



2. *Two men bring news that he is dead*

probably, there was a little casement in the lower right-hand corner of this window, which hung upon hooks which still remain. Horace Walpole refers to this casement in a letter to Miss Berry in 1794, where he



3. *A Dismal Groan is heard*

says, " If you should come to Canterbury again, make the cicerone shew you a pane of glass in the east window which does open and exhibits a most delicious view of the ruins of St. Austins." [1]

In addition to the splendid thirteenth-century glass in the choir, Trinity Chapel and corona, the cathedral also possessed much fine fifteenth-century glass in the nave and western transepts ; but of this comparatively little now remains. The earliest is contained in the head of the great west window, where, under the point of the arch are the arms of King Richard II impaling those of his patron saint, Edward the Confessor. In the next tier are six small figures between the arms of Anne of Bohemia (north) and Isabella of France (south), the successive consorts of Richard II. This glass was inserted probably in the first decade of the fifteenth century.

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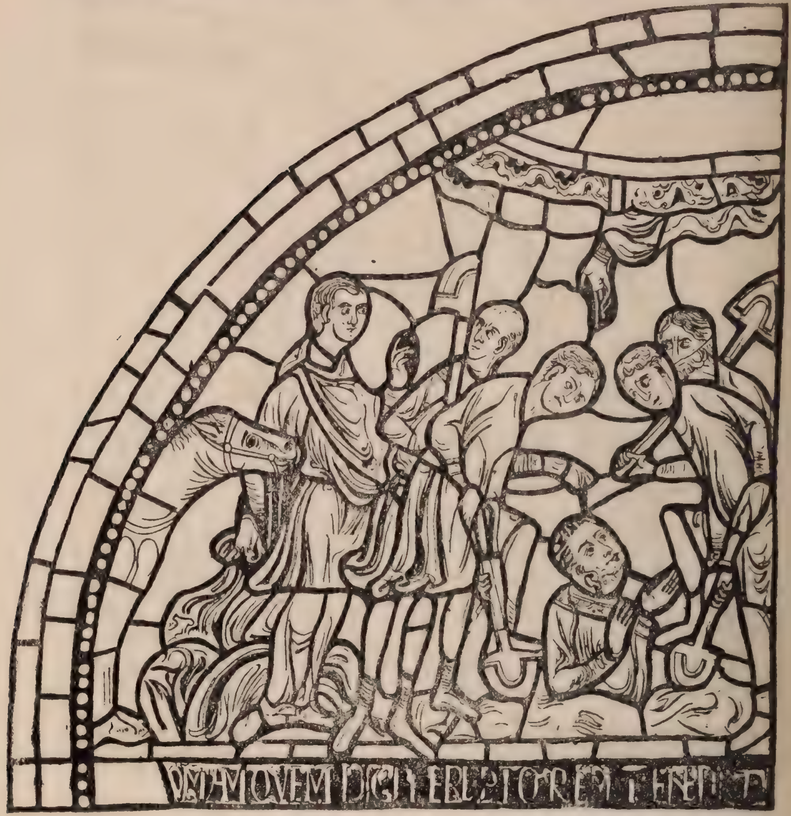
[1] Walpole's "Correspondence," vol. ix. p. 441.

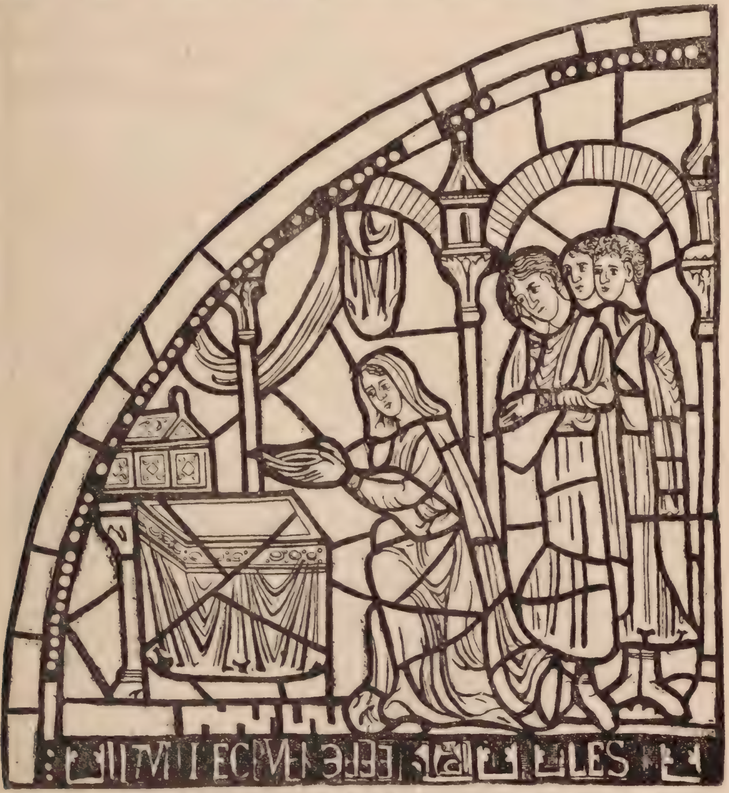
4. *Holy and humble men of heart come with spades and country tools*

The next two tiers were filled originally with saints and apostles. Now they are replaced by figures of saints and bishops brought from the west window of the Chapter-house. Beneath are seven kings, viz. (from right to left): Canute, Edward the Confessor, Harold, William I, William II, Henry I and Stephen. These with the figures in the next tier were also from the chapter-house; and the remaining lights are filled with glass from the clerestory of the choir in 1799.



5. *William is brought out*

The great window of the south-west transept retains portions of its original glass, but the greater part of it was taken from the windows in the clerestory of the choir transept in 1799 when, as Hasted informs us, "this window was selected and arranged by Mr. John Simmonds, one of the vesturers of the church, to whom the arrangement was committed by the Dean and Chapter."[1] Much reglazing was done to this window by Messrs. Austin and Caldwell between 1859 and 1897.[2]



A Lady offering a Coil at St. Thomas's Altar
Window VI. 21 *(South Side of Trinity Chapel)*

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[1] "History of Kent," vol. iv. p. 529 note.

[2] The new glass is indicated by Miss Willliams in her "Notes on the Painted Glass," *op. cit.*

It is, however, in the great north window of the "Martyrdom" transept that the best fifteenth-century glass is to be found. This window was a gift from King Edward IV in memory of his ancestor, Edward I, whose marriage with Margaret of France was celebrated at the cloister door close by. When in its pristine condition this was a magnificent composition, for which, according to tradition, the Spanish Ambassador to the Court of Queen Elizabeth offered ten thousand pounds. Much of the original glass was wantonly destroyed by the Puritans, notably by Richard Culmer, the notorious "Blue Dick" of whose proceedings we have given some account in a previous chapter, and there are good reasons for believing that what remains is not in its original position. We will first describe the present arrangement of the glass and then attempt the reconstruction of the original design.

It is a seven-light window, with a traceried head comprising thirty-six compartments, of which thirty-four still contain little full-length figures,[1] arranged in three rows, the topmost representing the prophets, the second the twelve apostles, and the third fourteen ecclesiastics; these were made for the position they now occupy. The main lights are divided by transoms into three tiers. The arrangement of the glass at the present time is as follows:

In the uppermost tier (from left to right) are the following coats-of-arms: (1) Christ Church; (2) Guldeford and Halden; (3) Thomas Becket, impaling the See of Canterbury; (4) the Holy Trinity; (5) Edward the Confessor; (6) Viscount Wells (part only), the husband of Cecilia, daughter of Edward IV; (7) an archbishop (modern).

In the middle tier are the following kneeling figures: (1) Richard Duke of York; (2) Edward Prince of Wales; (3) King Edward IV; (4) the arms of King Henry VII over two small figures, viz. a king in armour, with "Mauritius" underneath, and a female figure with helmet and sword; (5) Queen Elizabeth (Woodville); (6) the Princesses Elizabeth, Cecilia and Anne; (7) The Princesses Katherine and Mary.

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[1] Nos. 1 to 10, owing to the exigencies of space, are only half-length figures.

In the lowest tier are the following coats-of-arms: (1) Thomas Becket; (2) royal arms; (3) the arms of an archbishop; (4) royal arms; (5) Scott of Scott's Hall; (6) royal arms; (7) modern.

From Gostling's description of this window it appears that in his day the glass occupied very much the same position as it does now. But from Culmer's account of his misdoings in 1643 we know that prior to his fanatical destruction of much of the glass in this window it contained (to quote his own words) "the picture of God the Father, and of Christ beside a large crucifix, and the pictures of the Holy Ghost in the form of a Dove, and seven large pictures of the Virgin Mary in seven glorious appearances . . . and of many other Popish Saints, as of Saint George, etc. But their prime Cathedral Saint, Archbishop Thomas Becket, was most rarely pictured in that window, in full proportion, etc. . . . And at the foot of that window was a title intimating that window to be dedicated to the Virgin Mary, 'In laudem et honorem beatissime Virginis Marie Matris Dei,' etc." From the above description Mr. J. Le Couteur, in an article contributed to the Transactions of the Kent Archæological Society,[1] has given some acute suggestions towards solving the problem before us. Thus, he points out that if the band of royal portraits had been in the middle tier (as now), with the figures of the Virgin in the lowest row, the picture presented would be meaningless, not to say ridiculous; but if in the original composition "the Holy Trinity overshadowed the figures of the

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[1] "Notes on the Great North Window of Canterbury Cathedral," by J. D. Le Couteur, in *Archæologia Cantiana*, vol. xxix.

Virgin, and on either side and above again in the tracery were nothing but saints, there would be both sense and reverence in the window."

The original arrangement of the glass then, according to Mr. Le Couteur, whose conclusions we think are sound, though we have not space to give all the evidence upon which he bases them, was as follows:

Uppermost tier (from left to right): (1) Saint George; (2) unknown; (3) Saint Thomas of Canterbury; (4) the Holy Trinity; (5) St. Edward the Confessor; (6) unknown; (7) St. Anthony.

Middle tier: seven large pictures of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the central light being occupied by her coronation.

Lowest tier: (1) Richard Duke of York; (2) Edward Prince of Wales; (3) King Edward IV; (4) the Crucifix; (5) Queen Elizabeth (Woodville); (6) the Princesses Elizabeth, Cecilia, and Anne; (7) the Princesses Katherine and Mary.

Miss Williams in her "Notes on the Painted Glass in Canterbury Cathedral" says of the royal portraits in this window: "The figures have all new heads, and much of the drapery and other parts have been restored by Mr. Caldwell, under the direction of the late Mr. Harry Austin, the surveyor of the cathedral. Parts of the original figures are in the hall at the Deanery, having been removed there in 1879."

The only window which retains all its fifteenth-century glass is the east window of the Lady Chapel. It is a very delicate piece of work, the groundwork being nearly devoid of colour, in order to admit as much light as possible, since the chapel is dependent upon this window for its light. This window commemorates Archdeacon Bourchier, who was buried in the chapel in 1495; in the upper part are roundels enclosing a golden falcon and the Bourchier knot. In the lower part are the knot and a stem of oak-leaf fructed for

Woodstock, and a border of oak-leaves surrounds the window. The archdeacon's mother was a daughter of Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester. At the base are five coats-of-arms arranged chevronwise.

Modern Stained Glass Windows

The modern windows, with a few exceptions, do not merit a detailed notice, and a few brief notes must here suffice.

A very large proportion of the modern stained glass in the cathedral was designed by the late George Austin, and executed by his assistant, S. Caldwell. Mr. Austin had made a special study of the thirteenth-century glass in the "Becket windows," and as a copyist of the designs in these windows he attained very considerable skill, but as a colourist he failed lamentably, his windows being generally exceedingly crude and garish.

The dean and chapter, however, seem to have reposed the utmost confidence in Mr. Austin's taste and skill, for in 1855 they not only allowed him to fill all the clerestory windows of the nave with glass from his own designs—which with great generosity he offered to do at his own cost—but actually gave him the exclusive right of dealing with the remaining windows of the nave in his own way. This is recorded in a minute of chapter of the above date, which gives Austin permission to fill the nave windows with stained glass; and inhibits any other person from inserting a window "without communication first with Mr. Austin and his consent given." It is somewhat curious, in view of the present opinion about these nave windows, to read that the dean and chapter conferred this monopoly on the artist because they considered it to be "of the last importance to the beauty of the nave that all windows should be of the same character and tone of colouring"! Happily, Mr. Austin's energies, or purse, were exhausted before his scheme of decoration could be carried out in its entirety.

We will now give a brief account of the modern glass, beginning with the nave:

The Nave.—Clerestory windows by Austin, *c.* 1855. Under south-west tower a window to the memory of Sir Robert Inglis, erected at the cost of Archdeacon Harrison in 1855, by Austin. South aisle: 1 and 2, *Te Deum* windows, by Austin. North aisle: under north-west tower, west window to Mrs. Harry Austin; north window to Geo. Austin, sen., died 1848. Nos. 1 and 2, *Te Deum* windows; to the memory of H. C. Kingsford, died 1857; all by Austin. In the same aisle a memorial window to Dean Stanley, by Messrs. Clayton and Bell, by whom it was presented to the cathedral. It contains figures of Archbishops Odo, Stigand, Lanfranc and Prior Ernulf, and scenes connected with the history of the cathedral (*c.* 1881).

South-west Transept.—A window in the west wall by Mr. C. Whall, of Chelsea, in 1903, a memorial to the late Mr. O. Waterfield, of Nackington House. This is the best modern glass in the cathedral.

North-west Transept.—A window in the west wall representing scenes in the life of Archbishop Becket given by the Rev. Robert Moore (*c.* 1867), and by Messrs. Ward and Hughes.

St. Michael's Chapel.—The east window, by O'Connor of Birmingham, was erected in 1862 to the memory of the officers and men of the East Kent Regiment who fell in the Crimea. The south-west window, with figures of St. Gregory, St. Augustine, King Ethelbert and Queen Bertha, and scenes connected with their history, is a memorial to Colonel Geo. Brockman (died 1865), by Messrs. Clayton and Bell. The south-east window, inserted in 1909 to the memory of Lord Congleton, is also by Clayton and Bell.

Choir.—South aisle: three windows by Wailes, of

Newcastle; (beyond the crossing) a window to the memory of Canon Lockwood (died 1851), by Austin; and two triforium windows to the memory of Dean and Mrs. Lyall, by Austin.

South-east Transept.—West wall: a memorial window to the Marquis Conyngham, erected by the officers and men of the East Kent Mounted Rifles in 1883. South wall (to the right): a window to the memory of Edward Leigh Pemberton (d. 1877), and (to the left) one to Dean Alford (d. 1871). *Triforium:* two windows to Dean Alford; all by Messrs. Clayton and Bell. The circular window in the gable contains some glass from the west window of the chapter-house and more by Austin representing apostles, evangelists and virtues. Mr. Westlake says that this is probably a correct reproduction of the old glass. East wall: two windows by Austin, viz. one in St. Gregory's apse and one in St. John the Evangelist's apse, the latter a "Jesse" window; both dated 1852. *Triforium:* a window containing an excellent imitation of thirteenth-century glass, by Caldwell; and a window in memory of Mrs. Alford, erected by her daughter, Mrs. Bullock, in 1883 (with the one opposite in the west triforium). Artist (?)

St. Anselm's Chapel.—In the south window of five lights are figures of Archbishop Stephen Langton, Edward the Black Prince, St. Anselm, Joan Plantagenet and Archbishop Theodore. In the west window, Archbishops Mepham and Bradwardine. These windows, with those in the eastern apse, were filled with stained glass by Canon Francis Holland *c.* 1886. All are by Messrs. Clayton and Bell.

The Corona.—The window to the right of the central one was filled by Messrs. Hemming in 1897 with glass which is a very fair imitation of thirteenth-century glass. The Jesse window to the left was put in by Austin in 1861.

Trinity Chapel.—In the north aisle, over entrance to Henry IV's chantry, a window to the memory of Lieut. R. G. Dyson, 3rd Dragoon Guards (d. 1888), by Clayton and Bell.

St. Andrew's Chapel.—The central window of the apse is a memorial to Dean Stanley, and that to the left of it to John Ellison, honorary canon of Canterbury and founder of the Church of England Temperance Society. They were given by Dean Farrar, and designed by Mr. C. Whall.

North-east Transept.—East wall: the window in St. Stephen's apse was presented by Dr. A. P. Stanley in 1858 as a memorial of his visit to the Holy Land. Part of the border appears to be old glass. In St. Martin's apse with the exception of the panel representing the saint, most of the glass is the work of Austin, and a memorial to Canon Spry (d. 1855). *Triforium:* a window by Caldwell similar to that in the south-east transept. North wall: the window to the east is by Austin (1860); that to the west, to the memory of Canon Chesshyre (d. 1859), is by Hardman. *Triforium:* two windows of good colour by Powell, of Whitefriars, London, in memory of Canon J. C. Robertson (d. 1882). West wall: a window to the memory of Lord Kingsdown (d. 1867), by Clayton and Bell.

Chapter House.—Both the large windows are the work of Hemming, of Margaret Street, London. The east window was the gift of the Freemasons of Kent. The west window is a memorial to Dean Farrar (d. 1903).

WALL PAINTINGS

Little now survives of the elaborate mural decoration which adorned the mediæval church. In the sixteenth century there was a good deal of "whiting over" and "putting out of feigned histories" by the Reformers, more defacement by the Puritans in the seventeenth century, and finally much meddlesome scraping and rubbing down of walls by the " restorers " in the nineteenth, which wiped out the few paintings which had survived the earlier onslaughts. Thus the angels holding a cardinal's hat, and the figure of St. Christopher above Pole's tomb, with the phœnix rising from the flames, which in Gostling's time (*c.* 1770) could still be made out on the walls of the corona, have all disappeared. There was, too, somewhere in the choir or in the choir aisles a large picture of the Apocalypse, possibly at the west end of the north aisle, where Johnson's view, painted in 1657, shows a mural painting of considerable size. In the recess of the blocked window nearest to the transept in the same aisle a faded representation of the legend of St. Eustace may still be traced. The subject is an exceedingly rare one in English churches, but at Christ Church St. Eustace had a special commemoration on November 1. That this picture is meant to illustrate the life and martyrdom of St. Eustace is clear from the crucifix between the antlers of a large white stag, which is in accordance with the legend of his conversion ; and the brazen bull, with a fire burning beneath, into which an executioner is forcing the martyr.

But the best specimens of the early mural decorations owe their preservation to the fact that they were hidden from sight for many centuries and have only been brought to light within recent memory. The finest example now extant is the painting representing St. Paul at Melita in St. Anselm's Chapel. This was discovered in 1888, when the late Canon Francis J. Holland was generously undertaking the restoration of the chapel in order to fit it for early celebrations of the Holy Eucharist on week-days. It was then found that at a very early period there had been a settlement of the north wall of the chapel. To remedy this a later Norman arch had been inserted between the chapel and the apse, and at the same time the northern part of the apse had been refaced with ashlar. After an outer buttress had been built and the arches had been reset, Canon Holland caused the internal buttressing to be removed, and behind it was discovered the painting representing St. Paul shaking off the viper into the fire. This painting, which must have been hidden from sight for more than seven centuries, has been described by the late Mr. J. G. Waller, F.S.A., as follows :

> The tempora painting of St. Paul at Melita has a special interest inasmuch as that as far as I know the subject is unique in the mediæval art of this country. Still more interest perhaps attaches to it from its merit as a work of art which must probably be attributed to the middle of the twelfth century. . . . The drawing of the extremities, especially of the foot, is a long way in advance of any example known to me in England ; and this is always a test of an artist's power. The drapery is well cast and gracefully treated. The colouring is generally good and delicate throughout. The blue background, which was much affected during the twelfth century and in the early part of the thirteenth, is here rather too powerful, arising perhaps from the fact of its being a pure colour and unbroken. Time, however, may have modified the shades that go with it, and thus make it too prominent.[1]

Inferior to the above in execution but of extraordinary interest are the extensive series of twelfth-century paintings on the walls and roof of St. Gabriel's Chapel, beneath the chapel of St. Anselm, of which we will give a brief description.

Entering the nave of St. Gabriel's chapel, we notice that the four bays of the groined roof supported by the central pillar have been entirely covered with painted designs of which scarcely any remain complete. The designs seem to have consisted of subjects from Holy Scripture, arranged in medallions, of which several of small size, each containing the half-length figure of a saint or angel, are grouped around one of larger diameter. The borders of conventional patterns remain upon some of the square-edged members of the groining arches. The medallions bear a very close resemblance to those on the walls of the Norman church at Brooke, near Wye. It is evident that this decoration was added after Ernulf's crypt was finished (before 1107) and that it was an afterthought, since the ornaments wrought with a hatchet which characterises Ernulf's work may be seen on the squared edges of the arch where the plaster has scaled off.

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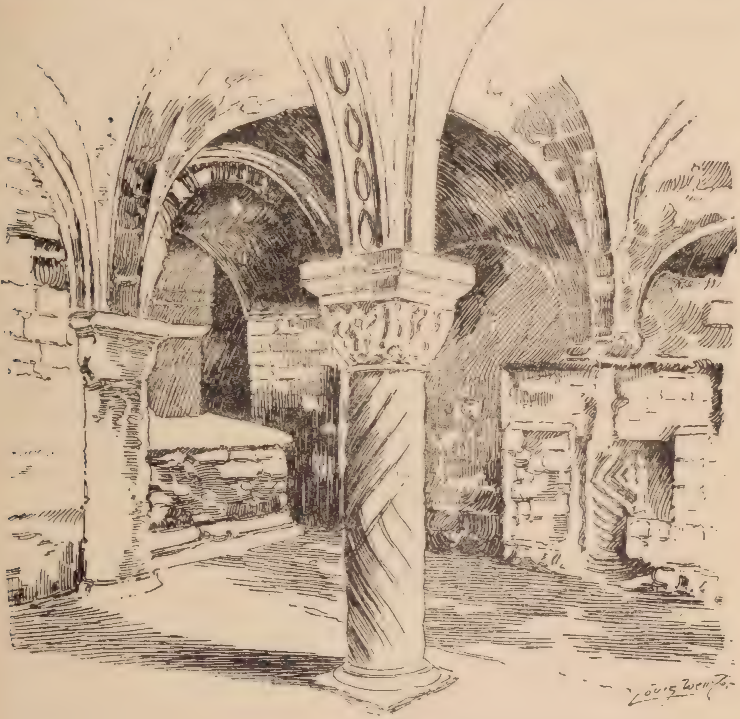
[1] *Arch. Cant.* vol. xviii. pp. 172–3.



Nave of St. Gabriel's Chapel

Probably these mural paintings formed part of a scheme for the decoration of the crypt executed in the days of Prior Wibert (1150–1157), which also included the grotesque carvings on the capitals of the columns.

The east end of this little nave was, during the middle ages, a straight wall, in which towards the south there was a piscina-like niche, and towards the north a bracket for an image or lamps. The central portion of the wall was very slightly recessed, as if for the reredos of an altar. Low down in the wall was a rectangular aperture, through which persons could with difficulty creep into the small apse on the other side.

In 1879 a door was broken through the wall, and it was then found that its outer western face had been added after the apse had been walled up; for there was evidence to show that the original blocking-wall had been plastered and painted before it was covered with an outer facing of ashlar. When, then, was the apse of the chapel first blocked up? From the fact that in Gervase's minute description of the church, which was written in or about 1199, no mention is made of any altar under St. Anselm's chapel, we may conclude that the monks had already shut up the apse and desired to keep its existence secret.

The cause for this secret and mysterious closing of St. Gabriel's apse can only be conjectured. Canon Scott Robertson says: "It seems to me that in the troubles and alarms of the monks during the period between 1170 and 1199 we may find the cause (for the walling up of the apse). The fierce threats of Becket's enemies induced the monks to carry his body in haste from the high altar down to the remotest chapel of the crypt for safety within twelve hours of his murder. . . . During the fire in 1174, and again when the new eastern crypt was building around Becket's tomb, there would be great anxiety respecting the safety of his wonder-working body. A few years later occurred the dispute with Archbishop Baldwin, who actually sent armed men to besiege the convent.

I believe that during one of these troublous periods, which filled the monks with the utmost terror and alarm, the apse of St. Gabriel's chapel was converted into the most secret hiding-place in the church." [1] However this may have been, the apse was shut off from the rest of the chapel at an early date, and doubtless it is to this circumstance that the preservation of the paintings which adorn its walls and roof is due.

> The subjects [says Canon Scott Robertson] are extremely appropriate to their position. In the centre of the roof is the Divine figure, seated in majesty, surrounded by a wide vesica to which the four adoring angels are extended. By the position of the fingers, the Divine figure seems to direct attention with both hands to the scenes, four upon the north wall and four upon the south, which represent the history of the glorious missions entrusted to the Archangel Gabriel. On the north side, Gabriel announces to Zacharias the coming birth of John the Baptist. On the south, Gabriel announces to Mary the Incarnation of Jesus our Lord. The results of the first annunciation are sketched on the north side in three further scenes: (ii) Zacharias, dumb, appearing to the people outside the Temple; (iii) friends come to Elizabeth's couch to name her son; (iv) they appeal to Zacharias against her naming him John. The history of the second annunciation is further depicted in these three scenes on the south: (i) Elizabeth saluting Mary; (ii) Mary on her couch with the infant Saviour; (iii) the fourth scene is very indistinct. Right and left of the entrance to the apse are the admirably painted figures of two seraphim, each having six wings, full of eyes within and without. One stands on each side with his feet on a winged wheel, the face north and south, as if guarding the entrance. To complete the allusion to the heavenly host, we find above the site of the altar, around the soffit of the arch of the eastern recess of the apse, figures of the angels of the seven Churches of Asia, each holding a candlestick. At the apex of the arch is a circle containing representations of "the seven stars, which are the angels of the seven churches" (Rev. i. 20). Seven being an uneven number, there are four angels with candlesticks on the south side, but only three on the north. To fill the fourth compartment on the north side the artist has depicted St. John the Evangelist in the act of writing the Apocalypse.[2]

Mr. Westlake has pointed out that a sure mark of the date of these remarkable frescoes is to be found in the way the eyes of the various figures are drawn. "It was not common," he says, "to insert a second line or iris to the eye in the earlier years of the twelfth century, and it ceased to be used late in the twelfth or early in the thirteenth century."[1] From the fact that the artists who painted these figures made use of the second line, we may infer that the work was executed in the second half of the twelfth century, probably in its last quarter. Mr. W. de Gray Birch, of the British Museum, concurs on the question of date, and is also of opinion that the frescoes are of English origin. In 1878 the dean and chapter engaged the services of Mr. James Neale, F.S.A., for the purpose of fixing the plaster on which the above subjects are painted, and when this had been done the same gentleman made full-sized facsimile drawings of the whole series at the cost of the Kent Archæological Society. Mr. Neale's drawings now hang upon the walls of the chapter library.

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[1] *Archæologia Cantiana*, vol. xiii. p. 53.

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 55, 56.

C. E. W.

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[1] *History of Design*, *op. cit.* i. 40.

CHAPTER XIX

THE CHOIR AND THE ORGAN

THE choral service is so important and distinctive a feature in the English cathedral system that our history of the cathedral and metropolitical church of Christ in Canterbury would be incomplete without some account of the choir and organ.

The statutes of Henry VIII made liberal provision for the maintenance of the choral service. There were to be twelve minor canons, twelve lay clerks, and ten chorister boys, "to the end that earnest prayer and continual supplication may be offered up in our church decently and in order, and that the praises of God may every day be celebrated with singing and thanksgiving." A paid choir of singers was not, however, altogether a new thing, for although in monastic times the choir offices had been chanted by the brethren without outside help, the boys of the almonry school sang at high mass, and on Sundays and feast days further assistance was given by paid singers who were not members of the community.[1]

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[1] A list of the days upon which the Sacrist paid for extra music (*pro sonitu*) is preserved amongst the Chapter Archives. It was drawn up in 1273, and from the various sums set against the feast-days we can form some idea of their relative importance in the eyes of the monks of Christ Church. In all there were seventy-two days on which the Sacrist paid for extra music, and the amount varied from three shillings and sixpence on Easterday, Whit Sunday, Trinity Sunday, Christmas Day, the Martyrdom and Translation of St. Thomas of Canterbury, St. Dunstan's Day, and the Assumption of the blessed Virgin, to threepence, which was the sum paid on the Feasts of the Apostles.

Nor was there any break with the past at the time of the new foundation, as far as the services of the church were concerned. The Latin service book retained its place, and the choir offices, in which the chanting of the psalms was no inconsiderable part, continued to be sung by men's voices, the boys being only requisitioned for the music of the mass.[1] The circumstance that nearly all the minor canons and several of the lay clerks had been either monks or novices of the priory was a further guarantee that for a time at any rate the old Canterbury use would be maintained.

In 1547, however, some important innovations were introduced. By Royal Injunctions issued in the above year the Lady Mass was to be omitted on all holy days on which a sermon was preached or a homily was read. Sequences (that is, hymns between the Epistle and Gospel) were no longer to be sung, "neither working day nor holy day." The psalms, which apparently had hitherto been hurried through in a perfunctory manner, were to be sung "with such a leisure and deliberation as the pronouncing of them may be perceived both by the singer and hearer." "Masses of note" were no longer to be sung at side-altars or in chantry chapels, but "within the choir." Two chapters of the Bible were to be read daily, viz. one in the morning after matins and the other in the evening after the Magnificat, by the "peticanons" in their turn. And lastly the tonsure was dispensed with as far as the choristers were concerned.[2]

These changes were, of course, only the precursors of much greater ones, for two years later (1549) the

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[1] Statute No. 32 ordains that the daily service should be sung by the minor canons, the lay clerks and the master of the choristers; the boys are not mentioned in this connection.

[2] "That the choristers have from henceforth the crown shaven no more, their heads nevertheless to be kept short."—*Visitation Articles*, &c., ed. by W. H. Frere for the Alcuin Club, vol. ii. p. 140.

Latin liturgy gave way to the English Book of Common Prayer. Nevertheless, the ancient plain-song did not at once become obsolete, but was adapted to the words of the new book by Merbeck and Tallis. Early in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, however, plain-song began to be superseded by more elaborate compositions which depended for their effect upon nicely balanced harmonies. It was then found that the proportion of men's voices was too great, and in order to give greater relative strength to the treble part six of the minor canonries were suppressed. Although six *substitutes* were appointed in their place, it is probable that the latter only acted as deputies for absent minor canons; so that the number of men-singers was now reduced from twenty-four to eighteen. Even then the boys' voices were found to be overweighted, and in order to give further support to the treble part two sackbutters and two cornetters were appointed, whose duty was "to support the melody on feast days and their vigils."[1] The sackbut was an instrument resembling the modern trombone, and the cornett, which must not be confounded with the modern cornet, was a small open metal pipe capable of great brilliancy of tone, and thus well adapted for sustaining the voices of the choir-boys.

The sackbutters and cornetters, who first make their appearance in 1598, wore surplices and received a stipend of £5 a year each, their salaries being defrayed out of the statutable allowance made for the epistoler and gospeller, offices which before the close of the sixteenth century had become obsolete. They were placed upon the foundation by Archbishop Laud in 1636, and reappear in the treasurers' books for a few years after the Restoration, but then drop out of sight. An inventory of church goods made in 1752 records amongst the contents of a chest "two brass sackbuts not used for a great number of years, part of the body of an old bass viol, and such-like trumpery."

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[1] "Tibicenis propter melodiam in 'choro faciend' diebus festis et eorum vigiliis."—*Treasurers' Accounts.*

It is remarkable that the statutes make no provision for an organist. Dr. Hook states that organs were introduced into England by Archbishop Theodore in the seventh century; however that may have been, it is probably safe to assume that Canterbury Cathedral was one of the first churches to possess such an instrument. In monastic times the organist was always one of the brethren, and a few references to the organ occur in the sacrist's accounts. Thus, we learn that a new organ was purchased in 1334 (*in expensis circa nova organa per diversas vices*, lxi^{s}); and again, rather more than one hundred years later, that Nicholas Rawnce in 1447 was paid 66s. 5½d. for making "one pair of organs." The inventory made at the time of the suppression of the priory mentions "two pair of organs in the choir." Unfortunately we do not get any exact information as to where these pre-Reformation instruments were placed. It seems, however, likely that the loft over the western choir screen contained an organ, and that it was on the exceptionally wide platform of this loft that the hired singers stood when the voices of the monks required reinforcement. At all events when we first get definite information about the position of the organ it was in the rood-loft. Thus in 1564, when the dean and chapter decided to buy a new organ, they ordered that the old organ standing in the rood-loft be taken down and its materials used for the new instrument.[1]

The new organ was not placed in the rood-loft but over the north choir stalls, in imitation of the example that had been lately set at St. Paul's Cathedral in London.[2] And here the instrument remained throughout all successive rebuildings down to the year 1784. A good deal of money was spent upon the organ in 1578, in which year Jasper Blankard was paid £20 "over and besides his bargain and agreement for the amending of the great organs." It would seem that twenty years later a new organ was acquired, for in 1598 four of the cathedral workmen assisted "to help up the organes"; but we hear nothing more about it except that certain carved figures were bought in 1619 for the case (*pro imaginibus in organo positis,* 34s. 4d.).

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[1] This seems to be the tenor of the order, but the Act Book is so badly burnt that the entry cannot be read in its entirety.

[2] "To the sexton of Powles to let me see the place where the new organs stood XII^{d}."—Treasurers' Accounts *sub anno*.

Although the statutes made no provision for an organist, William Selby (who was already master of the choristers) was appointed organist in 1547, and the two offices have been held together ever since. During the Marian reaction Selby lost his place, presumably on account of his religious sympathies, but he was reinstated on the accession of Queen Elizabeth, and continued to hold office for another five-and-twenty years. As he was not a statutable officer he was dependent for remuneration on the goodwill of the dean and chapter, who made him certain grants every year which appear in the Treasurer's Accounts as *Feoda et regarda.* Of course, this was in addition to his stipend of £5 7s. per annum as master of the choristers.

To the other members of the choir the actual money payment allowed by statute was as follows: to a minor canon, £5 2s.; to a lay clerk, £4 5s. 10d.; to a chorister, £1 5s. But there were also allowances for gowns which brought up the stipends to £10, £8 and £3 3s. 4d. respectively; and in addition to the privilege of dining together in the peticanons' hall, all the minor canons had houses in the precincts and several of the lay clerks had free lodgings in the tenement houses formed out of the great monastic dormitory. This was a fairly liberal provision at the time, but the mistake made by the framers of the statutes was that they allotted to the choir—and indeed to all non-capitulars—a fixed money payment instead of a fixed proportion of the whole divisible income; so that in process of time, as the purchasing power of money declined, the inferior members of the church became poorer. In the case of the minor canons this was remedied by allowing them to hold benefices with their minor canonries; and so well did they avail themselves of this privilege that in the later years of the seventeenth century no less than seventeen livings were held by six minor canons. But to the lay clerks no such opportunity of increasing their income was open, with the result that although from time to time their stipends received small augmentations, they remained miserably underpaid. It is therefore perhaps scarcely to be wondered at that sometimes they resorted to illicit ways for eking out their slender livelihood. Thus, Thomas Baylie seems to have turned his residence in the precincts into a sort of public-house, where, in spite of "divers warnings given by the dean and chapter, he continued to sell beer, wine and other victuals," until he was expelled by Act of chapter in 1603. Another lay clerk who had been dismissed for non-attendance petitioned to be restored to his place in the choir on the ground that his absence from the services of the church had not been wilful, "but to prevent him from an arrest." He adds that he "hath prevailed with his creditors to permit him to come to church," and begs to be reinstated in his office that he may be "in better capacity both of serving God and of satisfying his creditors." There were even worse cases than this; for instance, that of a clerk whose prolonged absence from duty had been the subject of much unfavourable comment, and who was at length discovered in the common debtors' prison in the Westgate.

Laud's fondness for cathedral music was well known, and the choirmen hoped that when he was engaged in revising the statutes he might do something for them. In the preamble to their petition they stated that they were encouraged to approach his Grace from the knowledge that he had " a good liking towards the art of musick, now sore decayed," and grounded their special appeal upon the fact that since the city of Canterbury " stood upon the leading highway unto the chiefest city of the realm," the cathedral church was " much frequented by ambassadors of the chiefest princes of Christendom."

The following concessions, they thought, would tend towards the general well-being and efficiency of the choir :

(1) That there should be but one choral service on week days, and that in the forenoon, " as was the custom at the Chapel Royal, St. Paul's Cathedral, Westminster Abbey, Rochester Cathedral and all other cathedral churches " (*sic*). If this were granted, then the minor canons would have more time for study, the lay clerks a better opportunity " to exercise themselves in their several functions to the augmenting of their poor livings " ; and the chorister-boys would be " better able to apply themselves to their books."

(2) That all members of the choir, in accordance with the statute, should have some voice in the choosing of candidates for membership, in the same way as such elections were made at the Chapel Royal and at St. Paul's Cathedral.

(3) That the chorister-boys, after good service in the choir, " should have the benefit of the grammar school " ; and

(4) That the minor canons and lay clerks should be exempted by statute from serving on juries.

The proposal that the choral service should be performed only once a day in the metropolitical church was not likely to be well received by Laud. When revising the statutes, he put the organist, sackbutters and cornetters on the foundation, but that was all. Privately, however, he brought some pressure to bear upon the Dean and Chapter to improve the stipends of the choirmen, which was so far successful that certain fees known as the "entertainment money" were now ear-marked for the choir.[1]

It is somewhat surprising that the choirmen considered the two daily services a hardship, for not many years previously they had been compelled to attend three. Thus an Act of Chapter of the year 1583 ordered that "the peticanons and lay clerks must be present at the three daily services, except in their weeks of liberty; and that every one of them for making default shall the next service afterwards stand in his surplice during the time of the whole service at the door of the grate of the choir."

The "weeks of liberty" mentioned in the above order meant one week in three, which seems a very liberal amount of vacation; but no doubt the substitutes acted for lay clerks as well as for minor canons. In 1677 the "liberty weeks" were taken away, the Act book stating that the privilege was withdrawn on account of the choirmen "greatly abusing that favour by neglecting of doing of their duty."

The "third daily service" probably referred to early prayers in the sermon (chapter) house. Before the time of the Commonwealth there was an organ in the sermon house, at which Francis Plomer, one of the lay clerks, officiated. The instrument was sold by the sequestrators about 1650, as we learn from the following acquittance: "Rec^{d} of Mr. Robert Doe, of ye Cathedral in Canterbury, due unto ye State, for a small paire of Organs which formerly stood in ye Sermon House, the sum of seaven pounds six shillings and eightpence. By mee Tho: Monins."

At the outbreak of the great Rebellion the choir organ was wrecked by Col. Sandys' troopers, of whose proceedings we have already given some account in a previous chapter. When Puritanism was in the ascendant the choir was silenced and its members turned adrift. The hardships which the lay clerks suffered is well illustrated by the following petition in which Thomas Jones, who had served the church for upwards of forty-three years, made known his woes to the Dean and Chapter after the long interregnum :

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[1] The entertainment money was paid by tenants in lieu of hospitality to the dean and chapter when they visited their estates.

> The humble petition of Thomas Jones, one of the lay-clerkes of the said Cathedrall.
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> In most humble manner sheweth that your Worship's poore petitioner in the time of the rebellion (the Church being dissolved) lost his maintenance, having then a wife and seven children, and no other livelyhood but a Reader's place of four pounds a year in the Hospitall of Kingsbridge in Canterbury, and certain writing schollers wch he taught in the King-schoole of the said Church wch amounted in all but to ten pounds, wch means being small and his charge so great, lived in a very meane condition so that he was obliged to goe upon score both for the belly and the back, And now it having pleased God to restore him to his former place again his Creditors come very fast upon him, and being not able for the present to give full satisfaction is constrained to become an humble suitor unto your Worships, humbly intreating that your Worships will be pleased to take his so sad condition so farre into your charitable consideration (he having been a member of the cathedral church for the space of three and forty yeares and upwards) to contribute him this Audit your charitable benevolence, &c. . . .

The above is such a pathetic document that we feel sure that the dean and chapter did not turn a deaf ear to it. A joint petition drawn up by the lay clerks at the same time, in which they claimed their wages for the sixteen or seventeen years during which they had been in enforced retirement, was less well received. Nevertheless, something was done to improve their position, for in a letter to Archbishop Juxon, dated December 6, 1661, the Dean and Chapter inform his Grace that " out of a desire we have to accommodate our Quire-men we have set apart for the improvement of their maintenance the yearly rent and revenue of a manor of ours now by the expiration of the lease falling into our hands."

In the following year articles of agreement were entered into between the cathedral authorities and Lancelot Pease, of Cambridge, organ-maker, for a new choir organ. Pease in return for £600 agreed to "set up in the organ loft now standing in or by the choir a double organ, viz. a great organ and a chaire (Quire) organ, the great organ to contain thirteen stops, and the quire organ six." From the fact that in addition to the money payment Pease was to be allowed "the present organ standing in the organ loft" it would appear that the old organ had not been entirely demolished by the Puritans.

As Pease's organ was not a large instrument (a specification of the various stops will be found in an appendix to the present chapter), the price seems excessive, especially as in about twenty-five years the organ was worn out. Perhaps its end was hastened by rats, for between 1670 and 1680 a good many rewards were given to the blower "for killing a rat in the organ loft."

At any rate, the dean and chapter decided to have a new organ in 1683, and determined that this time they would employ a builder of repute. Accordingly they called in the famous Bernard Smith, the King's organ-maker, whose contest with Renatus Harris for the contract for the organ of the Temple Church in London is a matter of history.[1] "Father Smith," as he is called by the organ-building fraternity, prepared two specifications for the Canterbury organ; in the earlier one he contracted to preserve the front pipes of the old organ and set them up again "for a shew front to the new organ fronting the body of the church." From which it appears that it was at first intended to place the new organ in the loft over the western choir screen. This, however, was afterwards altered, and Smith agreed to build his organ " in the place where the old organ stood "—that is, under the third arch of the northern arcade of the choir.[1]

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[1] See the "History of the Organ," by Hopkins and Rimbault, London, 1877, p. 103, &c.

The new instrument was not quite so large as its predecessor, having ten stops on the great and four on the choir organ. The trumpet stop in the former was a novelty, and the builder offered to teach Robert Wren, the cathedral organist, how to tune it. The price agreed upon, including a case " of the best seasoned wainscot to be fashioned, carved and finished in accordance with a model and draught delivered," was no more than £470; but Smith, in giving his acquittance for the above sum, complained that the work " would not bear the charges," and asked for £100 more. Whether he got it or not we do not know.

In 1713 the dean and chapter received from Dr. John Robinson, bishop of Bristol, and elect of London, a gift of £100 " as a memorial of his having been once a canon of Canterbury," and the money was voted to the improvement of the organ, which was repaired, and a cremona stop added by John Knopple.

In 1752 the organ was rebuilt and enlarged by Richard Bridge, of Wood Close, Clerkenwell, London. For the first time a third manual was introduced, controlling an echo or swell organ of six stops. The cost was £480, of which sum Captain Humphery Pudner gave half, and would have given more " if the instrument might have been placed over the choir door "; but this was not approved, and the organ was set up again in the north choir aisle and retained its old case.

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[1] G. S. in the " Chronological History of the Cathedral," p. 337, states that the organ was placed under the second arch; but in a picture by Pieter Nieffs painted before 1704, and also in Dart's view of the choir published in 1726, the organ is under the third arch counting from the west.

In 1784 the organ was again rebuilt, and was now removed to the loft over the choir screen. The work was entrusted to Samuel Greene, the most celebrated organ-builder in England at that time, who took out the old diapasons and replaced them by others of his own make which had lately done duty in the organ erected by him for the Handel Commemoration in Westminster Abbey. Greene's organ over the choir screen is shown in Wild's view of the nave published in 1816. But it did not retain this position very long, for in 1827 it was removed by Longhurst senior to the south triforium gallery. The *console* was placed behind the *decani* lay clerks, and a long movement of upwards of ninety feet, without the aid of pneumatic action, made the touch of the instrument intolerably heavy. Longhurst also put in new keys and rebuilt the swell, extending the compass to tenor C. A few years later two octaves of pedals were added, and one octave of pedal pipes from CCC to CC. The last-named addition was not altogether approved by Highmore Skeats, the organist, who, to use his own expression, "had never learnt to dance," and the story goes that he would depute to his assistant the task of showing off the qualities of the pedal pipes. Greene's organ must have been a thoroughly sound piece of work, for it lasted for upwards of one hundred years ; and although in the later stages of its career the mechanism was so faulty that no one except the cathedral organist or his deputy could play upon it, the tone of the diapasons was so good that they were incorporated in the new organ which was erected by Henry Willis in 1886. Specifications of the organs of Bridge, Greene and Willis will be found in an appendix.

To revert to the general history of the choir. The litany was chanted by two lay clerks[1] until 1704, when the duty was transferred to the minor canons. Twenty years later the substitutes were abolished, or rather their office was merged in that of the minor canons by providing that whenever a vacancy occurred amongst the substitutes it should be filled by a minor canon. At this date (1724) none of the substitutes were in holy orders, and there has been some doubt whether they acted as deputies for the minor canons or for the lay clerks. It is certain, however, that originally they were intended to act for the former, since they are described in the church books as "*in loco minorum canonicorum deservientes*." Possibly their duties never extended to the priests' part in the service but merely to that for which all the members of the choir (minor canons included) were responsible. The first lesson was read by the lay clerks in turn down to 1770, when an order of chapter enacted that for the future both lessons should be read by minor canons "from their seats in the choir." The brazen eagle which since the Restoration had been placed between the seats of the singers, facing north, was now relegated to the library, where it remained until the year 1847, when it was brought back to the choir and placed in its present position, the dean and canons undertaking "to read the lessons at the lectern on Sundays and precum days." The latter expression is a piece of Canterbury jargon which requires a little explanation. The precum days at Canterbury are those days on which according to the statutes the whole of the prayers are said by the dean, "if he be at home," or in his absence by the vice-dean. A rota or *ordo* of prayers and sermons for the year is drawn up at the St. Katherine's audit (November 25), and the days on which the whole of the service is performed by the dean or vice-dean are placed under the heading *ordo extra Precum.*

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[1] This is, or was until recently, the custom at Lincoln Cathedral.

Of the chorister-boys, upon whose proficiency the choral service has for many years past been in a great measure dependent, we have hitherto said very little. The provision made for them by the statutes was particularly liberal, for in addition to a money payment equivalent to between thirty and forty pounds at the present day they could get their commons at the peticanons' hall, and nominally they were entitled to a free education. The value of the latter, except as far as musical training went, was a doubtful asset, for their master apparently did not do much beyond training their voices. At any rate, religious instruction did not come within his purview, for a question in Laud's visitation articles elicited the fact that at that date (1634) this duty was entrusted to the usher of the King's school. Perhaps the remuneration of the choristers was purposely fixed at a high rate on account of the special danger which a boy with a good voice incurred of being kidnapped and sent off to serve the King's Chapel. In the sixteenth century, and in the early years of the seventeenth, commissions were granted to private persons giving them the right " to take up children " for the Chapels Royal, and several instances are recorded of the impressment of Canterbury choristers and of their subsequent ransom by the cathedral authorities. Even " little Selby," the organist's son, was spirited away to Windsor and only rescued after considerable expense and trouble. It would seem, however, that those who held these commissions were willing to use their powers on behalf of cathedral chapters if the latter made it worth their while, since we read that the dean and chapter on more than one occasion paid money to an individual who promised " to take up children for our church." One wonders what sort of service these kidnapped choristers put in. Possibly, when once accustomed to their new surroundings, they attacked " Tallis " and " Tye " with as much vigour as the victims of the naval pressgangs attacked the French fleet.

It was not until the nineteenth century was well advanced that any serious attempts were made to give the choristers a fair general education. The appointment of a grammar master in 1845 has done much in this direction. For more than forty years

The Choir School (formerly the Monastic Brewery)

the office was filled by the late Joseph Plant, for whose memory many generations of ex-choristers entertain a most affectionate regard. The lack of a boarding-school is from some points of view a disadvantage both to the boys themselves and to the cathedral music. Hitherto, however, the establishment of such an institution has not been found practicable. The danger of an epidemic breaking out in a boarding-school has to be reckoned with, as such a *contretemps* may mean the suspension of the choral service. At Canterbury, where the boys are scattered about the city, the number of choristers incapacitated for duty at the same time has never been so great as to make this necessary.

In all cathedrals of the new foundation the precentor is chosen from the minor canons. His duties as defined by the Canterbury statute are "to lead the choir; choose the music to be sung; mark the attendances of dean, canons and other ministers attending the divine offices; and take charge of the choir books."

The choice of the music is a very difficult and delicate matter, since individual tastes vary, and there is always immense divergence of opinion as to what ought and what ought not to be sung in church. At Canterbury the list of "services" and anthems sung in the cathedral is an exceptionally long one, the supply of the former being sufficient for two months without repetition, and the latter recurring as a rule not more than twice or thrice in twelve months. In such an extensive repertory composers of almost all schools of church music are represented, and an examination of the weekly schedules will show that an honest attempt is made to maintain a fair balance between the compositions of the old masters and those of modern times. Many years ago the dean and chapter passed a resolution that "Tallis his *Te Deum*" should be sung *every Sunday morning*. How long it was before they were constrained to rescind this order history does not relate. Tallis's service in D is still regularly sung in the cathedral, but the Doric mode is not understanded of the people to-day, and any attempt to inflict it upon a mixed congregation *every* Sunday morning would be disastrous.

At the present time (1912) the general standard of efficiency maintained by the choir of Canterbury Cathedral is a very high one. The most characteristic feature perhaps is the care and expression displayed in the chanting of the Psalms. For thirty years the choir has been under the directorship of Precentor Helmore, to whose unremitting zeal much of the efficiency and reverence with which the choral service is now rendered in the mother-church of Canterbury is due.

C. E. W.

A LIST OF THE ORGANISTS (1400 ?–1912)

Pre-Reformation Organists :

John Moundfeld, described in Causton's "Obituary of the Monks of Christ Church, Canterbury," (D. 14) as "eximius organista." Ob. 1407.

William Bonyngton, "in cantu et ludo organico egregio eruditus" (Causton). Ob. 1411.

William Stanys, "precentor et suo tempore in ecclesia Xti organista" (Causton). D. 1420.

John Cranbroke, "suis temporibus organista eximius." Ob. 1445.

Thomas Chart, "in musicis et organicis bene instructus." Ob. 1499.

1534. *John Wodynsborowe*, "Sol' fratri Johi Wodnysborowe pro organis pulsand', X^s" (Sacrist's accounts).

Post-Reformation Organists :

1547. *William Selby*, was master of the choristers from 1542, and was appointed organist in 1547. He was superseded by Thomas Bull, as master of the choristers in Queen Mary's reign, who presumably also acted as organist. In Queen Elizabeth's reign Selby was reinstated. In 1583, after forty years of service, when he was no doubt becoming infirm, Matthew Godwin was appointed joint organist.

[1553–1558. *Thomas Bull.*]

1583. *Matthew Godwin*, Mus.Bac., was appointed joint organist with Selby. In 1585 he became organist of Exeter Cathedral, and, dying there in the following year, he was buried under the north tower of that cathedral. His epitaph describes him as "a gentle, pious and clever youth, the most skilful chief musician of the Cathedrals of Canterbury and Exeter," and that at the time of his death he was aged seventeen years and five months.

1590. *Thomas Stores* is mentioned in the treasurers' accounts for 1590 as organist, but the Act Books and accounts for several years are missing at about this period, so one cannot ascertain how long he held office. He was also a lay clerk.

1598. *George Marson*, M.A., also a minor canon and master of the choristers. He is probably the George Marson mentioned in Grove's "Dictionary of Music" as a composer of madrigals. D. 1831.

1631. *Valentine Röther.*

1640. *Thomas Tunstall* lost his office at the time of the Great Rebellion.

1661. *Thomas Gibbes*, was organist from 1661 to 1669, but there is no record of his appointment, resignation or death.

1669. *Richard Chomley*, resigned in 1675 "on account of his age and other infirmities."

1675. *Robert Wren.* On his appointment the salary was raised to £40. He died in 1691 and was buried in the cloister. For two years before his death he appears to have had a deputy, since the following entry occurs in the Treasurers' accounts: "Paid Mr. Smith, the organist, 2 years' salary, viz. *pro annis* 1690, 1691, £10." A "Service in E" and three anthems of his composing, viz. "O give thanks," "I beheld" and "Teach me, O Lord," were for many years sung in the cathedral.

1692. *Nicholas Wotton* was removed from his office in 1697; the cause is not stated in the Act Book. He died in 1700 and was buried in the north aisle of the nave. Composer of a "Service" in C and of some anthems, *e.g.* "Given to Nicholas Wotton at singing ye first anthem of his compositing, 10s." (Treasurers' Accounts).

1697. *William Porter*, received the organist's stipend for the last half-year of 1697 and for the first quarter of 1698 (Treasurers' Accounts).

1698. *Daniel Henstridge*. Died 1736 and was buried in the cathedral. Composer of a "Service" in D and of the following anthems, "I will magnify Thee," "Blessed be the Lord," "O be joyful in God" and "Behold how good and joyful."

1736. *William Raylton*, a pupil of Dr. Croft. Died 1757. Composer of the following anthems: "Great is the Lord" and "Behold I bring you glad tidings"; and of "Services" in E and A; the latter is still on the Precentor's list.

1757. *Samuel Porter*, a pupil of Dr. Maurice Greene, organist of St. Paul's Cathedral. Died 1803 and was buried in the cloister. Composer of two "Services," five anthems, a kyrie, suffrages for the King's accession service, and nine chants, which were published by his son, the

Rev. James Porter, master of the College School, Worcester. His service in D, described in Grove's "Dictionary" as a "pleasing composition," is still used in several cathedrals, but in recent years has been discontinued at Canterbury.

1803. *Highmore Skeats*, born 1760, was organist of Ely Cathedral from 1778–1803. Composer of a "Service", in C and of a metrical anthem beginning "The righteous souls that take their flight," which is still sung in Canterbury Cathedral. Died 1831, buried in St. Martin's churchyard.

1831. *Thomas Evance Jones.* Born 1805. Chorister 1813, lay clerk 1822, master of the choristers 1830. Composer of church music. His only published anthem is "Unto Him that loved us." Died 1872, buried in St. Martin's churchyard.

1873. *William Henry Longhurst.* Born 1819. Chorister 1828, assistant organist and lay clerk 1836, F.R.C.O. 1865, Mus. Doc. Cantuar 1875. Retired as honorary organist 1898. Died 1904, buried in Harbledown churchyard. Dr. Longhurst composed several anthems, services, songs, &c., and an oratorio, "David and Absalom."

1898. *Harry Crane Perrin.* Pupil of Sir Robert Stewart. Organist of St. Michael's, Coventry, 1892–1898. Composer of the cantatas "Abode of Worship" and "Pan's Pipes," morning and evening services, anthems, songs, &c. Resigned in 1908 on his appointment to Professorship of Music in McGill University, Montreal.

1908. *Clement Charlton Palmer*, F.R.C.O. 1888, Mus. Doc. Oxford 1896, assistant organist of Lichfield Cathedral 1890–97, organist of the parish church, Ludlow, 1897–1908. Composer of a morning and evening service in E flat, evening service in F minor, morning and evening service in F for men's voices; "Casabianca," ballad for chorus and orchestra, &c.

APPENDIX

Specification of the organ built by Lancelot Pease, 1662–3.

Great Organ

(1) Diapason, metal.
(2) Diapason, stopped wood.
(3) Principal, metal.
(4) Principal, metal.
(5) Fifteenth, metal.
(6) Fifteenth, metal.
(7) Great twelfth, metal.
(8) Small twelfth, metal.
(9) Two-and-twentieth, metal.
(10) Two-and-twentieth, metal.
(11) Flute, metal.
(12) Recorder, metal.
(13) Tierce, metal.

Quire Organ

(1) Stopped diapason, wood.
(2) Stopped diapason, wood.
(3) Principal, metal.
(4) Fifteenth, metal.
(5) Fifteenth, wood.
(6) Flute, wood.

Specification of the organ built by Bernard Smith, 1683–84.

Great Organ

(1) Open diapason, metal.
(2) Stopped diapason, wood.

(3) Principal, metal.
(4) Nason, in unison with the principal, wood.
(5) Cornet of four ranks, metal.
(6) Quint, to the principal, metal.
(7) Fifteenth, metal.
(8) Flageolet, metal.
(9) Furniture, three ranks, metal.
(10) Trumpet.

Quire Organ

(1) Principal (in the front), metal.
(2) Diapason, wood.
(3) Recorder.
(4) Fifteenth.

Specification of the organ built by Richard Bridge, 1752–3.

Great Organ

(1) The present open diapason (to be amended as shall be needful), metal, 55 pipes.
(2) Stop diapason, wood and metal, 55 pipes.
(3) Principal, metal, 55 pipes.
(4) Twelfth, metal, 55 pipes.
(5) Fifteenth, metal, 55 pipes.
(6) Tierce, metal, 55 pipes.
(7) Largiot, metal, 55 pipes.
(8) Sesquialtera, of four ranks, 116 pipes.
(9) Furniture, of four ranks, 104 pipes.
(10) Cornet, of four ranks, 108 pipes.
(11) Trumpet, metal, 55 pipes.
(12) Clarion, metal, 55 pipes.

Choir Organ

(1) Stop-diapason, wood and metal, 55 pipes.
(2) Principal (the old pipes amended) wood and metal, 55 pipes.
(3) Flute, wood and metal, 55 pipes.

(4) Fifteenth, metal, 55 pipes.
(5) Vox humana, metal, 55 pipes.
(6) Mixture of three ranks, treble and base, 165 pipes.

"The organ to consist of three rows of keys, the compass from double gamut long eighths D la sol re in alt."

Echo or Swell

(1) Open diapason, metal, 32 pipes.
(2) Stop diapason, metal, 32 pipes.
(3) German flute, metal, 32 pipes.
(4) Trumpet, metal, 32 pipes.
(5) Principal, metal, 32 pipes.
(6) Hautboy, metal, 32 pipes.

The organ rebuilt by Samuel Greene in 1784, *at the time of its destruction in* 1886, *contained the following stops:*

Great, 12 *stops*

(1) Open diapason.
(2) Open diapason.
(3) Stopped diapason.
(4) Clarabella, treble (in place of five-rank cornet).
(5) Principal.
(6) Fifteenth.
(7) Twelfth.
(8) Sesquialtera, III ranks.
(9) Mixture, II ranks.
(10) Trumpet, treble.
(11) Great trumpet (throughout).
(12) Clarion (throughout).

Choir, 6 stops

(13) Stopped diapason.
(14) Dulciana.
(15) Stopped flute.

(16) Open flute.
(17) Principal.
(18) Cremona.

Swell, 10 stops

(19) Stopped diapason.
(20) Double open diapason.
(21) Unison open diapason.
(22) Principal.
(23) Fifteenth.
(24) Twelfth.
(25) Sesquialtera, III ranks.
(26) Cornopean.
(27) Trumpet.
(28) Hautboy.

Pedal, 2 stops

(29) Stopped diapason, wood.
(30) Open diapason, wood.

Couplers

(1) Swell to great.
(2) Pedal to great.
(3) Pedal to choir.

Specification of the organ built by Henry Willis in 1886.

Great Organ

(1) Double open diapason, metal, 16 ft.
(2) Open diapason (large), 8 ft.
(3) Open diapason (small), 8 ft.
(4) Salcional, 8 ft.
(5) Stopped diapason, metal to mid C, 8 ft.
(6) Claribel flute, 8 ft.
(7) Principal, 4 ft.
(8) Flute harmonique, 4 ft.
(9) Twelfth, 3 ft.
(10) Fifteenth, 2 ft.

(11) Piccolo, 2 ft.
(12) Mixture (four ranks).
(13) Double trumpet, 16 ft.
(14) Cornopean, 8 ft.
(15) Clarion, 4 ft.

Swell Organ

(16) Double open diapason, metal and wood, 16 ft.
(17) Open diapason, 8 ft.
(18) Lieblich gedact, 8 ft.
(19) Salcional, 8 ft.
(20) Vox angelica, 8 ft.
(21) Octave, 4 ft.
(22) Flageolet, 2 ft.
(23) Mixture (three ranks).
(24) Contrafagotto, 16 ft.
(25) Trumpet, 8 ft.
(26) Hautboy, 8 ft.
(27) Vox humana, 8 ft.
(28) Clarion, 4 ft.

Solo Organ (in Swell-box)

(29) Flute harmonique, 8 ft.
(30) Concert flute, 4 ft.
(31) Orchestral oboe, 8 ft.
(32) Corno di bassetto, 8 ft.
(33) Tuba, 8 ft.
(34) Clarion, 4 ft.

Choir Organ

(35) Lieblich gedact, 16 ft.
(36) Lieblich gedact, 8 ft.
(37) Open diapason, 8 ft.
(38) Dulciana, 8 ft.[1]
(39) Flauto traverso, 8 ft.
(40) Flute,[1] 4 ft.
(41) Gemshorn, 4 ft.
(42) Corno di bassetto, 8 ft.

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[1] *See* note next page.

Pedale

(43) Double open diapason, wood,[1] 33 ft.
(44) Open diapason, wood, 16 ft.
(45) Open diapason, metal, 16 ft. (not yet inserted).
(46) Violone, metal, 16 ft.
(47) Bourdon, wood, 16 ft.
(48) Octave, metal, 8 ft.
(49) Flute, wood, 8 ft.[1]
(50) Violoncello, metal, 8 ft.
(51) Posaune, metal, 16 ft.
(52) Clarion, metal, 8 ft.[1]

[1] *Added by Messrs. Norman and Beard, who now have charge of the organ.*

The action, with the exception of the swell pedals, is electro-pneumatic throughout, and has proved itself (after twenty-five years of constant use) to be thoroughly efficient.

From its position the organ is not altogether well adapted to vocal accompaniments, since it is frequently inaudible to the members of the choir while they are singing; but to listeners this defect is less apparent, though it cannot be denied that to those that sit in the choir the quality of the tone is occasionally somewhat hard and unsympathetic.

The pedal organ, however, leaves little to be desired, the tone of the thirty-two-foot being unusually fine.

The great organ is placed at the back of the triforium gallery and for that reason loses some of its directness and force. Still, on the whole the instrument is undoubtedly a fine specimen of Willis's work, and can easily hold its own with more modern cathedral organs of greater pretensions.

C. E. W.

CHAPTER XX

THE BELLS

There can be little doubt that the pre-Norman cathedral was furnished with bells. It is said that St. Dunstan not only gave bells to Canterbury Cathedral, but also provided rules for their use. But nothing definite is told us about either bells or rules.

The first recorded gift of a bell to Christ Church was made very early in the twelfth century by Prior Ernulf. This bell was recast by his successor, Conrad, who himself gave four smaller ones; and about sixty years later (*c.* 1160) Prior Wibert added a sixth of very large size. Wibert's bell required thirty-two men to ring it. Inasmuch as it would be impossible for thirty-two men to hang on to a rope, it is clear that the bell was set in motion by men treading upon a plank fastened across the head-stock—a method of bell-ringing still in vogue upon the Continent.[1]

From the Christ Church *Obituary* we learn that Wibert's bell was hung "in Clocario," by which is doubtless meant the detached bell-tower on the south side of the cathedral, which (as we have already related) was destroyed by the earthquake of 1382. It is probable that all the six bells mentioned above were in this campanile.

In 1343, when Hathbrand was prior, the bells in the *Clocarium* were rehung. Their names as recorded in the monastic registers were "Jesus," "Dunstan," "Mary," "Thomas," "Elphege" and "Crundale," of which "Jesus" and "Dunstan" were the gift of Hathbrand, and "Thomas" of Prior Eastry in 1316; the latter was a very large bell, weighing 8000 lb.

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[1] See "The Church Bells of Kent," by J. C. L. Stahlschmidt, London, 1887, p. 193.

Eastry, in 1317, also placed three bells in the great central tower, to which Archbishop Arundel in 1408 added four more heavy bells, the tenor weighing 7188 lb. Mr. Stahlschmidt conjectures that the Archbishop merely paid for the recasting of the bells which had been broken by the fall of the campanile in 1382. But the names of the bells of the Arundel ring are not those of the bells which formerly hung in the campanile. On the other hand, "Crundale," "Elphy" and "Thomas" reappear in the Angel Steeple after the destruction of the campanile. The "Arundel ring" was blessed by the Archbishop on April 8, 1409, when the bells received the following names: (1) St. John the Evangelist, (2) St. Blaise, (3) St. Gabriel, (4) St. Mary.[1]

To these Prior Chillenden added a fifth, dedicated under the invocation of St. Thomas.

When the central tower was rebuilt, towards the close of the fifteenth century, the "Arundel ring" was removed to the north-western tower, which on that account became known as the Arundel steeple.

Eastry's bells and "Crundale," "Elphy" and "Thomas," however, were rehung in the new central tower. The latter bells were confiscated by Henry VIII at the time of the suppression of the priory, and sold to Henry Crisp, of Birchington, and Robert St. Leger, of Faversham. If we can accept as correct the weight of bell-metal given in a document quoted by Battely, viz. 24,646 lb., it is evident that the bells must have been abnormally heavy.[2]

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[1] "Arundel's Register," in the Lambeth Library, quoted by Stahlschmidt as above.

[2] Battely professes to quote from the records of the Augmentation Office (pp. 24, 25), but Mr. Stahlschmidt was unable to find the document in the P.R.O.

From 1540—the date of the new foundation—to the present day (1912) there has only been one bell in the central tower, namely, that which hangs in a pent-house upon the leads at the top of the tower, and is known as "Bell Harry." It has generally been supposed that this bell was given to the church by King Henry VIII, and some writers have gone so far as to state that it was brought back by that monarch from France after the capture of Boulogne. But the bell, which has no connection whatever with Henry VIII, was hung, or rehung, in the cathedral as far back as 1288, *e.g.* "*per R Dover ad pendendam unam campanam que dicitur Henricus.*"[1] This was in the days of the famous Prior Henry of Eastry, who in addition to the bells already mentioned gave another and smaller bell, which was to serve the purpose of summoning the Chapter. Possibly this bell was named Harry after its donor. From the fact that at a later date "Bell Harry" is mentioned in conjunction with bells in the central tower, it seems probable that it always hung there, though its position in mediæval times is never actually stated, *e.g.* "*pro* 1 *clapir de Crundall in magno campanili*, 5*s.* 4*d.*" "*Item cum eodem pro* 1 *Clapir de belle hary*, 2s. 6d." (Sacrist's Accounts, 1452).

The voice of "Bell Harry" is well known to Canterbury citizens, for it is heard four times every day, viz. at 5.45 in summer and at 6.45 A.M. in winter, when the bell is rung for ten minutes (this is a survival from the days when early prayers were said in the church); for ten minutes before matins and evensong; and again for the curfew at 8 P.M. On the death of the Sovereign or the Archbishop the bell is tolled for one hour.

In the south-west tower or Oxford steeple there were five bells in 1499, and one, namely, "Dunstan," on the leads of the same tower (*extra Clocarium*). "Bell Dunstan" was cast in the days of Prior Molash, and was blessed by the Bishop of Ross in 1459 (Stone's *Chronicle*, p. 77). It was recast by John Bayle, bell-founder, in 1499, and at that time weighed 7200 lb. Bayle also rehung the other bells in the Oxford steeple, the tenor of which ring weighed 2133 lb.

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[1] Canterbury MS. D. E. ii. 84.

There were also at the above date three other bells in the latter tower, called the "Quarres." Possibly these may have been the quarter bells of a clock. There certainly was a clock in the Oxford steeple in 1551, for in that year the Chapter ordered that " the hammer be set higher, and windows opened and made so that the sound may enter out " that the clock might be better heard.

" Bell Dunstan " was recast by Michael Derby, of Stepney, in 1663, and again in 1684 by Christopher Hodson, who added 16 cwt. of metal, thereby bringing up the weight of the bell to 69 cwt. 3 qr. 5 lb. In 1758 it was cracked in an attempt to toll it by striking it with a hammer, and was recast by Thomas Lester, of London, in 1762. The work was carried out in the precincts by William Chapman, then foreman and afterwards partner with Lester and Pack.

The bells in the Arundel steeple were rehung in 1634 by Thomas Crust. The tower even at that date was apparently in a rickety condition, since Crust had to contract to make the frame for the bells " rest upon the ground." By 1726 the state of the tower was so bad that it was thought prudent to remove the bells altogether. The work was entrusted to Samuel Knight, of Holborn, who took down the six bells of the " Arundel ring," recast them into a peal of eight (with the exception of the treble, which was " removed into the place of Bell Harry," the old Bell Harry being recast and " given into the new ring "), and rehung them in the Oxford steeple. The bells of the latter tower were now sold, and the money received for them was spent in repairing the windows on the south side of the nave. The treble of Arundel had been recast by Joseph Hatch, of Ulcombe, in 1635, and his name and the date are on the bell at the top of the central tower.

There are now ten bells in the Oxford steeple, and the clock bell (Dunstan) on the leads outside.

The following dimensions and inscriptions are from Stahlschmidt's "Church Bells of Kent":

	Diameter	
I.	31 in.	Thomas Mears, London. Fecit A.D. 1802. Pace Reddita.
II.	32 ,,	T. Powys, D W. Welfitt & D H. Radcliffe. T^{r}, E. Walsby, R^{r} T. Mears. Fecit 1802.
III.	34 ,,	Samu^{l} Gul^{s} Gostling, A.M. S.K. 1726 A.D. MDCCCLV. Benj. Harrison, A.M. Thesaur^{o} H. G. Austin, Archit^{o} C. & G. Mears, Founders, London.
IV.	36 ,,	Gul. Ayerst, S.T.B. Gul. Egerton, LL.D., Johannes Gostling, A.M., Sam. Knight. 1726.
V.	38 ,,	Sam. Holcombe, S.T.P., John Clark, S.T.P. S.K. 1726.
VI.	40 ,,	David Wilkins, S.T.P., Edwardus Wake, S.T.P. S.K. 1726. A.D. MCCCLV. Benj. Harrison, A.M. Thesaur^{o} H. G. Austin, Archit^{o} C. & G. Mears, Founders, London.
VII.	43½ ,,	Johannes Grandorge, S.T.P., Johannes Hancocke, S.T.P. S.K. 1727
VIII.	46½ ,,	Eduardus Tenison, S.T.P., Hon. Eduardus Finch, A.M. S.K. Fecit 1728
IX.	51½ ,,	Radulphus Blomer, S.T.P., Elias Sydal, S.T.P. S.K. Fecit 1726.

X. 57 in. YE RINGERS ALL THAT PRIZE YOUR HEALTH AND HAPPINESS,
BE SOBER, MERRY, WISE, AND YOU'LL THE SAME POSSESS.
PACK AND CHAPMAN OF LONDON.
FECIT 1778.

Clock bell, 70 in. GULIELMO FRIEND, S.T.P. DECANO LESTER & PACK OF LONDON. FECIT 1762. W^M CHAPMAN MOLDED ME.

"Bell Harry," JOSEPH HATCH ME FECIT 1635.

In 1897 the peal of ten was rehung in a steel frame by Thomas Blackburn of Salisbury, as part of the reparation of the Cathedral undertaken by Dean Farrar in commemoration of its thirteenth centenary. At the same time quarter-chimes were added to the clock. These chimes are founded on the 8th Gregorian Tone, thus serving to commemorate the landing of Augustine on the shores of Kent A.D. 597.

C. E. W.

DEANS AND CANONS

The names of the Deans and Prebendaries from 1540 to 1854 are recorded in T. Duffus Hardy's edition of Le Neve's *Fasti Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*. We give below a supplementary list.

DEANS

1857. Henry Alford.
1871. Robert Payne Smith.
1895. Frederic William Farrar.
1903. Henry Wace.

CANONS

1st Stall

1862. John Thomas.
1883. William Cadman.

1891. John Duncan.
1895. William Page Roberts.
1908. William Danks.

2nd Stall

Suspended in 1845 on the death of F. W. Baylay.

3rd Stall

Suspended in 1852 on the death of Francis Dawson.

4th Stall

1869.	Edward Parry	Archdeacons of Canterbury and Bishops of Dover.
1890.	George Rodney Eden	
1897.	William Walsh	

5th Stall

1858. William John Chesshyre.
1859. James Craigie Robertson.
1882. Hon. William Henry Fremantle.
1895. Arthur James Mason.

6th Stall

Suspended in 1852 on the death of Lord Charles Thynne.

7th Stall

Suspended in 1845 on promotion of John Peel.

8th Stall

1855. William Stone.
1882. Francis James Holland.
1908. Edward Alexander Stuart.

9th Stall

1887.	Benjamin Frederic Smith	Archdeacons of Maidstone.
1900.	Henry Maxwell Spooner	

10th Stall

Suspended in 1838 on the death of Philip Hunt.

11th Stall

1863. Joseph William Blakesly.
1872. George Rawlinson.
1903. Edward Moore.

12th Stall

Suspended in 1851 on the death of Hon. J. E. Boscawen.

FINIS.

INDEX

Abbot, Abp., 321, 388
Aberbrothock, Abbey of, 75
Absolom, Robert, 314
Adam, the Forester legend of, 421
Ælfric, Abp., 18
Æthelgar, Abp., relics of, 282
Æthelheard, Abp., relics of, 283
Æthelm, Abp., relics of, 283
Aix in Provence, Tapestry at, 280
Alan, Prior, 97, 105, 106, 266
Albano, Walter, Cardinal of, 38
Albryght, Ralph, 314
Aldington, 216
Aledon, Robert de, 244
Alexander V., Pope, 186
Alford, Dean, 366, 367, 368
Alfred Ealdorman, 384
All Souls College, Oxford, 197
Almoner, monastic, 247–248, Rolls, 398
Almonry, 139; chapel, 139; school, 248
Alphonsus Petrus, 160
Altar, High, 140, 173, 174, 175, 282, 297, 338, 343, 347, 368, 371
  St. Alphege, 174, 181
  St. Audoen, 285
  St. Augustine, 285
  St. Bartholomew, 285
  St. Clement, 285
  St. Dunstan, 174, 181
  St. Edmund of Abingdon, 385
  St. Edward the Confessor, 78
  St. Gregory, 403
  St. John the Baptist, 285
  St. John the Evangelist, 98, 282, 285
Altar, High, St. Katherine, 285
  St. Martin, 283
  St. Mary in Black Prince's Chantry, 152; *see also* under Chapel
  St. Mary Magdalene, 285
  St. Nicholas, 284
  St. Paulinus, 285
  St. Thomas the Apostle, 285
  St. Thomas of Canterbury, 78
  St. Stephen, 283
  St. Swithin, 20
  St. Wilfrid, 13, 19, 98, 284
  "Sword Point," 70, 73, 79, 273, 275
  Holy Cross, 30, 274
  Holy Innocents, 285
  Holy Trinity in Black Prince's Chapel, 152
Alyn, Hugh, 256
"Angel Steeple," 31, 211
Anniversary rolls, 398
Anselm, *see* St. Anselm
Archbishops of Canterbury; burial-places of Saxon Archbishops, 375 and *note;* Lanfranc withdraws from the life of the cloister, 34; primacy settled by the Council of Winchester (1072), 32–33; ceremony of the reception of the Pallium, 38; struggles with the monks of Christ Church, 106–116. *See also* under the names of the various Archbishops
Arundel, Abp., 168, 174; tomb and chantry, 194–195, 274, 282

INDEX

Arundel, Earl of, 147
Arundel Steeple, report on, 360; rebuilt, 361
  Ring, 472
Asher, Robert, 253
Aspersorium, 279
Atwell, Will, 313
Audit House, 136; pulled down and rebuilt, 347
Augustine, Apostle of the English, 2, 9, 11
Austin, Geo., 312, 361

BALDWIN, Abp., election of, 105; quarrel with monks, 107–114
Balsar, Will, 313
Baptist, Mr. (Canon), 312
Baptistery, 11, 12
Bargrave, Dean, 323, 325, 326
Bargrave, Dr. John (Canon), 341
Barton, Elizabeth, 216
Bartoner's rolls, 398
Battle, Abbot of, 265
Beaufort, Cardinal, 201
Beaulieu Abbey, 268
Beck, Richard, Master Mason, 200
Becket, Abp. Thomas; early life, 57; Archdeacon, 56; Chancellor, 58; Primate, 59; his defence of the Canon Law, 61; excommunicates the Bishops, 63; exile and return, 64; martyrdom, 66; burial, 68–69; miracles, 69; Henry II's penance, 74; translation of his relics, 75, 76, 77, 122; jubilee, 76; shrine, 77–79; offerings at the shrine, 76 122, 151; reliquary of the "Head," 138; shrine destroyed, 217, 218
Bee, Cornelius, 389 *note*
Bekenore, John, 158
Bells, 471–475; names of, Crundel, 471–472; Dunstan, 473, 474, 475; Elphege, 471; Harry, 473; Jesus, 472; St. Blaise, St. Gabriel, St. John, St. Mary, 472
Bell-founders, Bayle, John; Chapman, Will, 474, 476; Derby, Michael, 474; Hatch, Joseph, 475; Knight, Samuel, 474–475; Mears, 475; Pack and Chapman, 475
Bell Hangers; Blackburn, Thomas, 476; Crust, Thomas, 474
"Bell-Harry" tower, 200, 209, 211; *see also* "Angel Steeple"
Benedict, Prior, 73, 77, 266
Benson, Abp., tomb of, 375, and *note*
Bernard the Goldsmith, 197
Bertha, Queen, 6, 172, 178
Bible, chained, 368
Black Death, 148, 164
Black Prince, *see* Edward, Prince
Blackfriars, Council of, 165
Blechyndon, Dr. (Canon), 320
Blomer, Dr. (Canon), 346
Blomfield, Sir Arthur, 370
Bocking, Dr., 216
Boleyn, George (Canon), 299
Bologna, University of, 270
Boniface IX, indulgence of, for rebuilding the Nave, 168
Boniface, Abp., 128; opposed by the monks of Christ Church, 128–132
Boulser, Mr., 312
Bourchier, Abp., 155, 206
Boys, John, his description of the Cathedral in the seventeenth century, 344–5
Bradwardine, Abp. Thomas, 148
Bredkyrke, Thomas, 313
Bregwyn, Abp., relics of, 283
Brenchley, Joan, Chantry Chapel of, 203, 350; Sir William, 203
Breton, Richard le, 64, 68, 70
Brewhouse, monastic, 367
Broc, Ralph de, 64
Broke, Mr., 312
Brookwood, 268
Brown, John, 175
Bubwith, Bishop, Chantry Chapel of, at Wells, 182

Buckingham, Bishop John, 181; Chantry Chapel of, 182, 274
Bull, Thomas, 313
Bulls of Popes granting privileges to the monks of Christ Church, 225
Bur, castle of, 63
Burnell, Robert, 133
Burrough, James, new altar-piece by (1733), 348
Burton, James, Prior of Folkestone, 256
  John, 314

CADE, Jack, 204
Caen, St. Stephen's Church at, 25
Caen Stone, 15
Calcote, Thomas, 314
Caldecote, Manor of, 142, 262
Callowe, Thomas, 313
Campanile, fall of, 165
Cancellor, James, 313
Candlesticks, purchase of, 368
Canterbury Cathedral: Roman Church, 5; Eadmer's description of, 10; Cuthbert's Baptistery, 11; enlarged by Odo, 13; attacked by the Danes, 14; rebuilt by Lanfranc, 16; grand plan of, 26; dedication, 32; Anselm's enlargement, 36–45; crypt, 41; Conrad's decoration of the choir, 45; dedication, 45–6, Gervase's description, 46; carvings on the capitals in the crypt, 50; Treasury built, 50; services suspended after Abp. Becket's murder; reconciliation, 70; the great fire of 1174; choir rebuilt by Guillaume de Sens and William the Englishman, 89–102; corona, 100; stained glass, 124; cloister rebuilt, 124; nave rebuilt, 158, 163, 164, 168, 171; floor repaved, 349; choir repaved, 175; south-west tower rebuilt, 198–199; central tower rebuilt, 207–8; pinnacles of, 208, buttressing arches, 210; eve of Reformation, 272–286; Henry VIII's new foundation, 287, &c.; charter of incorporation, 287; during Great Rebellion, 324, 329; Church goods *temp* Commonwealth, 332; condition *temp* Restoration of Monarchy, 336; choir wainscoted (1675), 342; services in seventeenth century, 343; panelling removed from the choir, 360; Austin's reredos, 360; Income of Dean and Chapter, 365; repairs in the nineteenth century, 362, 366; fire of 1872, 369; choir reseated (1879), 368; recent repairs, 369 *et seq.*
  College in Oxford, 250, 251, 269, 278
  Priory of Christ Church: in Saxon times, 17, 18; Lanfranc's reforms, 33; Theobald's reforms, 49; growth of the power of the monks, 102–16; privileges granted by Becket, 103; exile of the monks, 120; quarrel between monks and citizens, 134; monastic life, 220; obedientiaries, 223–257; income and expenditure, 245–7; servant's wages, and allowances, 257–8; hours of divine service, 259; Maunday, 248; scriptorium, 261; plays and minstrels, 262; meals, 263; sermons, 264; surrender to Henry VIII's commissioners, 218
Caröe, Mr. W. E., 367, 370, 371

Cawston, Thomas, obituary of, 403
Cellarer, 230–4 ; account rolls of, 398
Cemetery gate, 362–3
Chamberlain, monastic, 241 ; account rolls of, 398
Chapman, Archdeacon, tomb of, 70
Champyon, Dr., 312
Chantry Chapels : Arundel's, 194 ; Black Prince's, 152, 156 ; Brenchley's, 203 ; Buckingham's, 152, 182 ; Henry IV's, 191 ; Lady Mohun's, 185 ; Warham's, 214–15
Chapel, Almonry, 139 ; St. Anselm, 41,42 ; St. Andrew, 176,277,363 ; St. Bartholomew, 285 ; St. Blaise, 73 ; St. Benedict, 73 ; Dean's, 307 ; St. Gabriel, 50, 440 ; Lady, 171, 203, 204 ; in the Crypt, 157–8 ; St. Michael's, 201–2 ; Nevill, 203 ; Prior's, 128 ; St. Thomas, 83, 94, 98
Chapter House, 138, 176, 301, 370
Charles I, 325 ; picture of, 342
Charte, Mr., 312
Charters of Christ Church, 397
Chartham, Robert, 253
Chatillon, Cardinal, tomb of, 307
Cheker building, 139, 367
"Cheker of the Hope," 181
Chicheley, Abp., 195, 196 ; tomb of, 196–7, 380, 381
Chikwell, Hamo de, 146
Chillenden, Adam, Prior, 133, 268
Chillenden, Thomas, Prior, 54, 166, 269 ; building operations of, 167–186, vestments, &c., acquired by, 181 ; tomb of, 187
Chilton, Nich., 255
Choir-screens, 137, 138, 172
    stalls, 137 ; removed, 346
Choristers, 294, 445, 449, 457–8 ; school, 367, 459
Christ Church, Priory of, *see* Canterbury Cathedral ; gate, 210, 212, 356 *note*
City wall rebuilt, 178, 207
Clarence, Thomas, Duke of, 201 ; tomb of, 202
Clarke, J. W., on Mediæval Libraries, 379
Clement VIII, Pope, 215
Clement of Maidstone, 193
Clerke, John, 314
Clock (1292), 136 and *note ;* damaged by fire, 369
Cloister, Great, rebuilt, 176, 177, 188
Codex Aureus, 383
Coleman, Eustace, 314
Colet, Dean, 274
Coligny, Odet de, *see* Chatillon, Cardinal
Colman, Robert, 313
Common Table, 293
Conrad, Prior, 45, 265
Consistory Court, 274
Coombe, Dr. Thomas, benefaction to Library, 390
Copes "Profession," 278
Copton, Mr., 312
Corona, 100, 278, 349
Court at Street, 216
Courtenay, Abp. Will., 159, 164, 177, 178
Cranmer, Abp. Thomas, 216, 218 ; letter of, 288, 291 ; Prebendaries conspire against, 295
Cretinge, Hugh de, 130
Croft, James, Archdeacon of Canterbury, 354
Cromwell, Oliver, 354 ; Thomas, 217, 219
Crumbesfeld, 382
Crypt, 13 ; Lanfranc's, 29 ; Ernulf's, 41 ; carvings in, 50 ; floor raised, 158 ; improvements in, 211 ; beneath Trinity Chapel, 300
Culmer, Richard, 216, 322, 325, 330 ; Cathedral news by, 327–8 ; Six-Preacher, 328
Cuthbert, Abp., relics of, 283

INDEX

Dance, George, senior, architect, 349
Danyell, Canon, 312
David, King of Scotland, 46
Davis, Roger, panelling in the Choir by, 342
Dean and Prebends of New Foundation, 288, and *note*
Deanery, 299
Deans, pre-Norman, 21, 22
Delasaux, George, 369
Deportum = common room, 227, 256, 257
Dering, Richard, 216, 279
Dormitory, monastic, 23; repaired by Chillenden, 176
Doulting Stone, 371
Drumme, Mr., 312
Dunfermline, Abbot of, 265
Dunstan, Abp., *see* St. Dunstan
"Dunstan" Bell, 199
Dunster, John de Mohun, Baron of, 185
Durant, Edward, 199, and *note*
  John, 333
Durovernum=Canterbury, 4, 5, 6

Eadmer's description of pre-Norman Church, 19–21
  Lanfranc's Church, 24
Eastry, Henry of, Prior, 135, 144; building operations of, 136–143; letters of, 140; burial-place, 144
Ecclesiastical Commission (1836), 364, 366, 369
Ecclesiastical Suits, rolls relating to, 399
Ediva, Queen, relics of, 283
Edmund, Abp., quarrel with monks, 127; retires to Pontigny, 128; Altar of, 128, 132
Edward the Confessor, 78; statue of, 172; altar of, 191
Edward I, King of England, 133; his marriage at Canterbury, 143
Edward II, visit of, to Canterbury, 143
Edward III, visit of, to Canterbury, 146, 182
Edward IV, 206
Edward of Woodstock (Black Prince) at Canterbury, 146, 148, 152; Chantry Chapel of, 156; burial, 159; tomb, 159, 160; epitaph, 160; achievements, 161; sword, 161, and *note;* bequests to Christ Church, 162
Elham, John, Prior, 203, 270
Elias of Dereham, 77
Elizabeth, Queen, 304; visit to Canterbury, 305
Elmer, Prior, 265
Elphy, Mr. (Minor Canon), 312
Emma, Queen Consort of Canute, 15
Erasmus' description of the shrine of St. Thomas, 79–80; Lady Chapel, 158; visit to Canterbury, 272–3
Erfastus, Bishop of Thetford, 33
Ernulf, Prior, 39, 265
Ethelbert, King, 6; baptism of, 9; statue on choir screen, 172
Evesham, Abbot of, 114, 267

Fairs in the Precincts, 209, 229, 318, 359
Farrar, Dean, 368, 370
Feramin, Master, 111
Ferrars, Henry de, 182
Finance, monastic, 245
Finch, John, Prior, 67, 68, 163–5
Fishpond, monastic, 54
Fitzurse, Reginald, 64, 67
Folliot, Gilbert, Bishop of Hereford, 59, 60, 63
Font, pre-Reformation, 320; Bishop Warner's, 320; removed to Water Tower, 350
Foster, Will, 314
Franciscan Friars, landing of, 123
Franklyn, John, 320
Frater House, 23; rebuilt, 124; demolished, 330

French Church in the crypt, 307–9; Laud's attack on, 321

Gardener (Canon), 312
Gasworks, Cathedral, 366
Gate, Christ Church, 210, 212 *note*; turrets removed, 212; inscription on, 213; Juxon's doors, 337
  Green-Court, room over, built, 177
Geddington, Council of, 111
Geoffrey, Prior, 117, 265
Geoffrey II, Prior, 265
Gerald de Barri, 49
Gervase's description of Lanfranc's nave, 30; rebuilding of choir, 90, 98
Gilbert, Rev. George, Reminiscences of, 355
Gilbert de Glanville, Bishop of Rochester, 117
Giles, Master, physician to prior, 256
Gillingham, Richard, Prior, 269
Gilson, Mr. J. P., his report on MSS. of Christ Church Canterbury, 396
Gisnes, Count of, 121
Glastonbury, Abbot of, 213; controversy with Prior of Christ Church concerning the relics of St. Dunstan, 213, 214
Glasyer, Hugh (Canon), 312
"Glory Cloth," 316
Gloucester, Abbot of, 265; college in Oxford, 251
Gloucester, masons trained at, 165
Godmersham, Rectory of, 168
Godwin, Dean, 306
Goldson, Mr. (Canon), 312
Goldston I, Thomas, Prior, 199, 203, 205, 270
Goldston II, Prior, 210, 211, 271, 280; burial-place, 213, 216
Goldwell, Thomas, Prior, 215, 217, 218; letter of, 219, 271
"Gloriet," 270
Grandorge, Dr., bequest of, 347
Gray, Sir Henry, 204
Green-Court gateway, 51
Gregory IX, Pope, Bull concerning Peter's pence, 403
Grig, Dr. 76
Grille, iron, in nave, 171
Grim, Edward, 68
Grosseteste, Robert, Bishop of Lincoln, 133; treatises by, 403
Gualeran, Bishop of Rochester, 104
Guest-chambers, new, 165
Guillaume de Sens, architect of the choir, 91; accident to, 92

Hackington, Abp. Baldwin's Collegiate Church at, 107–14
Hadleigh, W., 251
Hales, Sir Christopher, 218
Halstow, Lower, 382
Hamilton, Lady Emma, 356
Hangings, arras, 279
Harbledown, St. Nicholas Hospital at, 303
Harrison, Benjamin, his benefaction to the Library, 390
Hartlip, Simon of, 127
Hartover, Christopher, Altar-screen by, 338
Hathbrand, Robert, Prior, 147–8; works of, 157–9; burial-place of, 159, 269
Henry II, King of England, 58, 64; penance of, 74, 75, 105; death, 112
Henry III, King of England, 77, 78; crowned at Canterbury, 127
Henry IV, King of England, statue of on choir screen, 172; burial, 188; tomb, 191; Chantry Chapel of, 191, 193
Henry V, 195, 196
Henry VI, 205
Henry of Blois, Bishop of Winchester, 48
Henry of Eastry, Prior, *see* Eastry

Herlewin, Prior, 266
Herne, Brother Thomas, 278
Herring, Archbishop, letter of, 353
Herse cloth, 372
Holland, Canon Francis, 118
Horne, Dean, alterations to the fabric of the Church by, 349, 350
Honorius, Prior, 110, 112, 266
Hope, Mr. W. H. St. John, 161, 174, 204, 276
Hopper, Thomas, architect, 360–1
Horsea, Hugh de, 68
Horsfelde, 52, 55
Howley, Abp., 362, 363, 390
Howley-Harrison Library, 389, 390
Hubert de Burgh, 77
Hubert Walter, Archbishop, 115, 117, 119; tomb opened in 1890, 118
Hulme, St. Benedict's Abbey, 265
Hunte, Mr. (Canon), 312

ICKHAM, Mr., 312
Infirmary, monastic, 151, 252
Ingram, Brother Will., 381
Innocent III, Pope, 121
Irving, Sir Henry, 370
Isabella, Queen, consort of Edward II, 144
Islip, Abp., tomb of, 273, 349

JACKSON, Dr. (Canon), 331
Jaenbert, Abp., 19
James, Dr. M. R., 280, *note*, 379, 387
Jeffries, Judge, 313
Jeremiah, Prior, 265
Joan Plantagenet, the Fair Maid of Kent, 156
Jocelyn, Bishop of Salisbury, 63
John of Chatham, Prior, 127, 267
John, King of England, 75, 119, 120, 121
John of Sittingbourne, Prior, 267
Johnson, Thomas, 137, 314
Jordan the Painter, 140
Juxon, Abp., 337, 389

KELLETT, Will., Legend of, 422
Kent, Holy Maid of, *see* Barton, Elizabeth
Killygreve, Mr., 314
Kilwardby, Abp., 133
King's School, 140, 291–293
Kitchen, monastic, 152
Kydder, John, 313

LADY Chapel, new, 171
Lambeth, Abp. Baldwin's and Abp. Hubert's Collegiate Church at, 114, 115
  Conference (fifth), 376
  Library, duplicate books given to Canterbury, 390
Lancaster, Henry, Earl of, 147
Lanfranc, Abp., 23, 25; gifts of, 35; relics of, 98, 283
Langdon, John, Warden of Canterbury College, letter of, 251
Langton, Abp. Stephen, 75, 77, 120, 122; tomb of, 202; *Moralia*, 403
Laud, Abp., 311, 315; visitation of, 316–8; revision of statutes, 319
Lay Clerks, 313; stipends of, 449; petition to Abp. Laud, 451, 453
Layton, Dr., letter of, 217, 385
Lee, Will., 313
Legge, Dr. Wickham, Inventories of Christ Church by, 284
Leland, John, 167, 194
Lewcombe, Richard, 313
Lewes, battle of, 133
Lewis VII, King of France, 82, 94; grant of wine by, 97
Leysted, John, 313
Library of Dean and Chapter, 377–404; earliest catalogue, 379; rebuilt by Chicheley, 380; estates for upkeep, 381; books bought in 1551; new (1868), 390; MSS., 396; Bunce's catalogue (1806), 395
Linacre, Thomas, 207
Lindesfarne Gospels, 383
Living, Abp., relics of, 283

Lollards, 198
London, Dr., 295
Luithard, Bishop, 6
Luxmore, Dr. (Canon), 356
Lyall, Dean, 365, 366
Lychfeld, Mr., 312

MAC-DURNAN, Gospels of, 378, 384
Maces, silver, for vergers, 338 *note*
Malmesbury, William of, 33
Manners-Sutton, Abp., 354, 359
Mantell, Roger, 313
Mapylton, Thomas, architect of the S.W. tower
Marden, John, 313
Margaret, Queen Consort of Henry VI, 203, 205
Marian reaction, ornaments, &c., acquired during, 301–2
Mary Tudor, Queen of England, 343
"Master Omers," 181, 201, 225, 238, 307
Maunday Thursday, ceremony on, 263
Mensa Magistri, 151, 252
Mensura beatæ Mariæ virginis, 283
Meopham, Abp., memorial window to, 147
Minor Canons, 287, 449; houses of, *temp* Commonwealth, 330
Mohun, Lady, tomb of, 185
Molash, Will., Prior, 198, 200, 270
Mongeham, Stephen, Prior, 159, 269
Monins, Thomas, 328, 331
Montreuil, Madame de, visit to Canterbury of, 81
Moreville, Hugh de, 64
Muniments of the Christ Church, 391, 392, 394, 395, 397
Music, extra in mediæval times, 445 *note*
Myllys, Mr. (Canon), 312
Mystagogus, 79

NANTES, revocation of the Edict of, 311
Navarre, Joan of, Queen Consort of Henry IV, 191
Necessarium, monastic, 211
Nelson, Dr. (Canon), 355
Nevill, Dean, 203, 387
Newbury, Father (Minor Canon), 295, 312
New Lodging, the, 225, 237
Nicholas of Sandwich, Prior, 268
Nigel, William Fitz, 110
Nixon, Dorothea, benefaction of, 362
Noldekyn, Reginald, 137
Norman staircase, 234
Norreys, Roger, Prior, 110, 113–14
Norris, Samuel, auditor, 399
Northfleet, rectory of, 195
Northgate, St. John's Hospital in, 303
North-Hall, 234, 237
North Holmes, 52

"OAKS," the, 337 *note*
Odo, Abbot of Battle, 104; Prior, 266
Omers, Meister, *see* Master Omers, 30, 112
Organ, Cathedral, 452, 454–6, 478, 479; specifications of, 465–70
    builders, Rawnce, Nich., 448; Blankard, Jasper, 449; Pearse, Lancelot, 454; Smith, Bernard, 454; Harris, Renatus, 454; Knopple, John, 455; Bridge, Richard, 455; Green, Samuel, 456; Longhurst, 456
Orpington, Ralph of, 127
Osbert, Prior, 267
Ostiarius Chori, 279
Otforde, Mr., 312
Oxenden, Richard, Prior, 145, 148; burial-place, 147
    Solomon, 268

Oxford, Canterbury College in, 200; 269; *see also* Canterbury College
Oxney, John, Prior, 81, 270

PALACE, Archiepiscopal, 34, 299, 304, 371
Pallium, controversy concerning, 37; ceremony at the reception of, 38
"Paradise and Heaven," 165
Parkehurst, Mr. (Canon), 312
Parker, Abp. Matthew, visitation articles of, 304; entertainment by, 305; a collector of books, 386
Pascal candle, 281, 293
Paske, Dr. (Vice-Dean), letters of, 324
Patriarchal seat, 47, 78, 282; removed from primitive position, 360, 364
Payne, Smith, Dean, 368–9, 375
Pearson George (Hon. Can.), 70 *note*, 368
Peckham, East, manor of, 39
Peckham, Abp., 140; tomb, 141
Peel, John (Canon), 355
Peirce, John, petition of, 335
Pentise, 178, 234
Percy, Dean, 354
Perron, Count, 153
Peterborough, Abbot of, 265, 266; monks, 251
Petham, William, Prior, 270
Peticanon's Hall, the, 293
Petworth marble, use of, 101
Pews erected in choir (1704), 346
Pfyffers, Theodore (sculptor), 366
Philippa, Queen, visit of, to Canterbury, 146
Pikenot, Brother John, work of, in the cloister, 124
Pisa, Council of, 185, 186
Plague, 148; cattle, 245
Plant, Joseph, Grammar Master of the choristers, 459
Plantagenet, Joan, 152
Plate, Church, alienated, 297; gift of by Cardinal Pole, 301; sold, 325; lent by Independents, 333; purchased at Restoration, 338, 341
Player, Thomas, 333
Players and minstrels, 262
Pole, Cardinal, 139, 301, 303; Chapel, 303; tomb, 303
Pontigny, 267
Porch, south-west, 200
Porter of the Gate, allowances to, 258
Portugal, Crown Prince of, 45 *note*
Powys, Dean, 354, 355
Preachers (Six), *see* Six-Preachers
Prebendaries, names of first, 288 *note*, 311; married deprived, 303; numbers reduced, 364
Prebendal Houses *temp* Commonwealth, 330; pulled down, 365
Precentor in monastic times, 226; modern, 460
Precincts, Houses in, *temp* Commonwealth, 330
"Precum Days," meaning of, 457
Prior of Christ Church, election of, 223; jurisdiction *sede vacanti*, 224; privileges granted by Popes, 225; lodgings, 177, 225; chapel, 226; servants, 226
  Chaplains' Rolls, 398
Prior, Mr. E. G., 171
Proctor, Robert, 306
Pudner, Humphrey, 349 *note*
Pulpit in choir, 363; in nave, 375
Puritanism in Kent, 317, 323
Pyx, curious arrangement for, 174

QUENINGATE, 178

RAWLINSON, Canon, 371; Mrs., 375
Red Door, the, 73
Refectory, *see* Frater-House
"Regale" of France, 82, 94
Reginald, Sub-prior, 120

Registers, monastic, 391, 399, 400–1
    of Dean and Chapter, 400
Relics, catalogue of, 284
Reliquary cupboard, 276
Remigius, Bishop of Dorchester, 33
Reynolds, Abp. Walter, letters of, 140–143; tomb, 142, 244, 262
Rich, Sir Richard, 218
Richard I, King of England, visit of, to Canterbury, 75, 113
Richard, Abp., 91, 102
Richard II, King of England, 164, 173, 185, 186, 191
Ringmere, Thomas, Prior, 134, 135; resignation of, 135, 268
Rochester, monks of, 104
Roger of St. Alphege, Prior, 128, 268; sermons of, 404
Roger of Lee, Prior, 128, 267
Roger Norreys, Prior, 266
Rogers, Dean, 306
Rouen, Abp. of, 114
Rood, Great, 46, 274; in south aisle of nave, 274
Ross, Bishop of, 191, 199
Ruton, Richard, 278
Ryche, Mr., 314
Rydley, Dr., 312

Sacrist, monastic, 228, 229; income and expenditure, 229; house of, 230; rolls, 398
St. Alphege, church of, 308
St. Alphege, martyrdom of, 14; shrine, 47, 281, 297; translation of relics, 97
St. Andrew, chapel of, 176, 277, 363
St. Anselm, 36–8; death of, 42; canonisation, 45; shrine, 284; relics of, 350–3
St. Anselm's chapel, window in, 147; restored, 440
St. Apollinare Nuova, church of, at Ravenna, 12
St. Apollonia, picture of, 144
St. Audoen, 13; altar of, 285
St. Augustine, relic of, 213; Psalter of, 383
St. Bartholomew, chapel of, 285
St. Benedict, rule of, 222; chapel of, 67, 70, 73
St. Bertin, abbey of, 121
St. Blaise, 13; chapel of, 67, 70, 74; shrine, 282
St. Christopher, painting of, 303
St. Clement, altar of, 285
St. Denis, Church of, Measure of our Lord in, 282
St. Dunstan, translation of relics of, 97; scrutiny of shrine, 213, 214, 281, 297
St. Edmund of Abingdon, ring of, 73, 228, 275
St. Furse, 20
St. Gabriel, chapel of, 50
St. Gregory, altar of, 20; priory of, 52, 77
St. James, hospital of; 111
St. John the Baptist, altar of, 285
St. John the Evangelist, altar of, 248, 282
St. John Lateran (Rome), Measure of our Lord in, 283
St. Katherine, altar of, 285
St. Leger, Mr. (Canon), 311
St. Martin, altar of, 21, 283; church, William, rector of, 131
St. Mary, oratory of, 21; chapel, 171, 203; measure of, 283; chapel in the crypt, 157–158
St. Mary Magdalene, altar of, 285
St. Michael, chapel of, 201, 202; room over, 202
St. Nicholas, altar of, 284
St. Odo, relics of, 98; shrine, 284
St. Osyth, picture of, 144
SS. Peter and Paul, altar of, 284
St. Paulinus, altar of, 285
St. Thomas the Apostle, altar of, 285
St. Thomas of Canterbury, *see* Becket, Thomas
    Chapel, 98–99, 282

St. Wilfred, 13; shrine of, 285
Salisbury, Jocelyn, Bishop of, 63
Salisbury, John of, 31, 55
Salkyer, Richard, 380
Saltwood Castle, 64
Sancroft, Abp., 390
Sandwich, Bartholomew of, 127
Sandys, Colonel, 323–4
Sarisbury, John, Prior, 270
School of the Archbishop, 55, 250; King's, 250
Scott, G. G., 30
  Sir Gilbert, 100
Scotus, Duns, 404
Screen, Choir, 140, 172, 173, 342
Scriptorium, 382, 383, 385
Seals of the Prior and chapter, 16, 123, 398
Searles, Mr., 312
Sede Vacante documents, 392
Sellinge, William, Prior, 206–7; tomb of, 210, 251, 270, 381
Selmeston, Thomas, 278
Sermons, 258, 366; in the Chapter House, 300, 323, 344
Seneschal of the Liberties, 258
Services, Church, *temp* Queen Elizabeth, 304–5
Sheldon, Abp., 341–2
Sheppard, J. B., report on the archives for the Historical MSS. Commission, 395
Sherlock, Abp., visitation of, 349
Shuckford, Dr., letter of, 353
Simpson, Dr. (Canon), 392
Siric, Abp., relics of, 282
Sittingbourne, Prior John of, 267
Six-Preachers, names of the first, 312; houses of, 212, 288, 330
Smallwell, John (joiner), 346–7
Somerset, John, Earl of, 201; tomb, 202
Somner, William, MSS. of, purchased by Dean and Chapter, 389
Spire of N.W. steeple built, 138; pulled down, 346
Spry, Dr. (Canon), his account of the opening of the tomb of Henry IV, 193
Stained glass, 124; destruction of at Reformation, 327; by Puritans, 327; description of, 405–38
Stalls, choir, 280
Stationarii, 253
Statutes of Henry VIII, 288; Laud's revision of, 319
Stephen, King, crowned at Canterbury, 48
Stephens, William, 313
Stone, John, 64; chronicle of, 256
Stratford, Abp., 146–8
Succentor, monastic, 226
Sudbury, Abp., 159; murder of, 163; tomb, 164
Sumner, Abp., 363
Supremacy, Royal, oath taken by the Prior and Convent, 217
Surrender of the Priory of Christ Church, 218
"Suthdore," the, 20, 29
Survey of Precincts *temp* Commonwealth, 329–32
Swifte, William, 313
Sydall, Dr. (Canon), 346
S.S., collar of, 192

"TABLE-HALL" of the Infirmary, 151
Tait, Abp., 311
Tankerville, Master W., 256
Temple, Abp., 371, 375
Tenison, Abp., 347
Tewkesbury, Abbot of, 266
Teynham, Archiepiscopal manor house at, 117
Theobald, Abp., 48, 55, 58
Theodore, Abp., schools of, 55; relics of, 98, 250, 377, 386
Thornden, Richard, Bishop of Dover, 296, 300–1, 311
Thornton, John, Prior of Dover and assistant bishop to Abp. Warham, 215

Throne, Archiepiscopal, 347; new, 363
Thyrlwall, Richard, 385
Tilley, *see* Sellinge, William
Tillotson, Dean, 345
Towers, Western, 31; Central, 207–10; N.W., 360, 371
Tracy, William, 64, 67, 68
Treasurers of the Priory, 245; rolls of, 398
Treasury, the, 50

UFFORD, John de, Abp., 148
Umfrey, Brother Thomas, 251
Universities, Canterbury students at, 251, 291

VAUXHALL, manor of, 155

WACE, Dean, 370
Walkelin, Bishop of Winchester, 33, 37
Walkyngton, Thomas of, 402
Walloons, *see* French Protestants
Walter Durdent, Prior, 265
  Parvus, Prior, 265
  III, Prior, 267
  of Colchester, 77
Ware, Thomas, 362
Warham, Abp., 213; Chantry Chapel of, 214
Warner, John, Bishop of Rochester, 320, 389, 391
Warwick, Thomas de Beauchamp, Earl of, 182
Wastell, John, master mason, 208
Waterworks of Priory of Christ Church, 51, 55 *note*, 211
Water Tower, 53, 54; raised, 176
Watts, William, letter of, 393
Welfitt, Dr. (Canon), 355, 359
Welles, Mr. 313
Wellys, Will, Bishop of Norwich, 202
Westwell, rectory of, 168
White, Jesse, 356 *note*, 365
Whitgift, John, Abp., 386
Whitewashing of Churches, 175
Whittlesey, Abp., tomb of, 273, 349
Wibert, Prior, 51, 266
Willement, Thomas, heraldic notices of Canterbury Cathedral by, 188
William the Conqueror, sign manual of, 33
William Rufus, 36
William the Englishman, architect of the retro-choir, 93, 94, 98
William the Lion, King of Scotland, 75
  Rector of St. Martin's, Canterbury, 131
  of Norwich, 404
Winchelsey, Abp., 141, 142
Winchester, council of, 32; Cathedral, Nave of, 171
Wodensburgh, John, Prior, 187, 196; tomb of, 198, 269
Woghope, William, 165
Wolsey, Cardinal, 215–328
Wotton, Nicholas, Dean, 294–5, 298, 391
Wulfred, Abp., charter of, 12, *note*; relics, 283
Wulfhelm, Abp., relics of, 282
Wultstan, Bishop of Worcester, 33
Wybert, Prior, *see* Wibert

YORK, Edward, Duke of, 205
  Roger, Abp. of, 63
  Thomas, 33, 36
Yngworth, Richard, Bishop of Dover, 296

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